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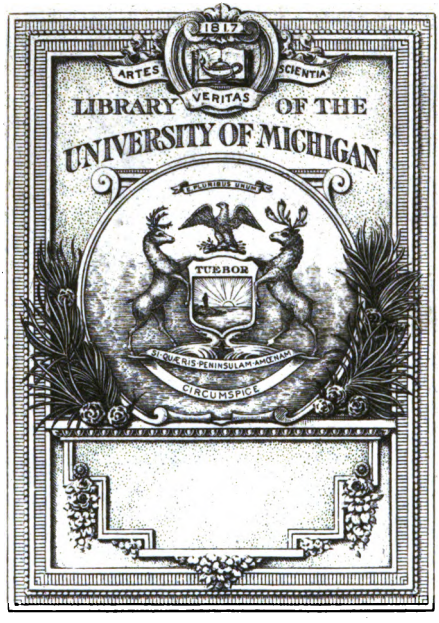
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THE PREFACE OF THE PUBLISHER.

WHILE France *aſpires to be Abſolute in Arts and Empire, our Nation, that ſo well diſputes the double Prize with its Neighbours, has, at the ſame time, made uſe of their Induſtry, to ſet Bounds to their Ambition, has Studied their Critics, to Exceed their Authors, and Practis'd their* Martial Diſcipline, *to Maintain its Advantage over them in Courage and Strength. Among their late Maſters of politer Criticiſm, none has found a Kinder Entertainment, and more General Eſteem, than Monſieur* Rapin. *He has long Dictated in this Part of Letters. He is acknowledg'd, as the Great Arbitrator between the Merit of the Beſt Writers; and during the Courſe of almoſt Thirty Years, there have been few Appeals from his Sentence. The vaſt Extent of his Undertaking, has not hindred it from being regularly concerted. It ſeems to ſtand in a juſt Mixture of Example and Precept, which are the trueſt Comments on each other; the Compariſons enliven the Reflections, and the Reflections ſupport the Compariſons. Tho' we may have receiv'd from other Hands ſome more choice*

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and curious Remarks on particular Subjects; as on Poesie, (for Instance,) from Monsieur Boileau, *and my Lord* Roscommon, *from the* French *Preface to the* Æneis, *and the* English *Essay on the* Georgics; *yet Mr.* Rapin *is still perhaps the ablest Guide thro' the whole Circle of Fine Learning, and has open'd such a View into the several Methods of Study and Composure, as cannot but be highly serviceable to All that would judge of them, and to those few who shall be so Happy as to Exercise them. Of his Critical Works, a Version is here offer'd entirely New, except of one Treatise in each Volume; the Comparison between* Thucydides *and* Livy *in the First, and the Reflections upon* Poetry, *in the Second; both which come recommended to us from so Skilful Hands, and are so much above our Improvement in themselves, that they deserv'd to be our Pattern in the rest.*

The Learned Person who oblig'd the English *Reader with the latter of those Pieces, increas'd his own Honour, by advancing that of his Native Country. The Judicious Preface, with which he adorn'd his Translation, gave him almost as eminent a Name among the* English *Critics, as his Author held among the* French. *And, the Occasion here inviting us, why may we not carry on the Survey thro' the other Parts, and attempt the doing that Justice to the Eloquence, History and Philosophy, which he has done to the Poetry of his Nation; tho' with unequal Ability in the Undertakers, yet certainly with like Advantage in the Subjects? As he has dated the Excellency of our Poetry from* Spencer, *may not we derive that of our Oratory from Sir* Philip Sidney; *among whose Glories, it is not the least to have been the first Refiner of* English *Prose, the Charms of his Measures and Cadence, giving a new Grace to so Noble Images, so Sweet Affections, and so Bright a Wit? If, as he is wont to be censur'd, he may discover some Froth of Expression, or some Dregs of improbable Fiction, yet he shines thro' his Disadvantages:*

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His Foam is Ambet, and his Gravel Gold,

Whom yet the Ever-Venerable Mr. Hooker, *in the same happy Reign, exceeded as much in the Force and Compass of his Style, as in the Weight of his Argument and Dignity of his Institution. He has joined together the Majesty and Simplicity, so much admir'd in the Greatest Ancients; and his Reasons are not more invincible than his Composure inimitable. The Reign of King* James I. *(if we except out of it my Lord* Bacon, *that one* Noble Speaker, *as* Ben Johnson *terms him,) was rather Learned than Eloquent. The Publick Miseries which were then fatally breeding, and which afterwards broke out with so unnatural Violence, as they corrupted the Reason of Men, so they debas'd their very Phrase. The Barbarous Multitude, the* Goths *and* Vandals *of the Time, were no less furiously engag'd against Arts and Knowledge, than Order and Discipline; and in both Respects,*

* Lavish'd out all their Hate, as if they meane
In future Ages to be Innocent.

The Rebels had the greatest Orator to contend with in the Person of the King, and were always foil'd by his Eloquence, among the Misfortunes of his Arms. The Speeches, the Letters, the Disputes and Conferences, but above all, the Divine Meditations of the Royal Martyr, afford a mutual Testimony to each other, as they are all compos'd in a Style that truly represent's Majesty in Adversity, the most Genuine Greatness, and most Devout Humility;

* Plague of Athens.

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† It's Mighty Master's Emblem, in whose Face
Sat Meekness, heighten'd with Majestick Grace.

It were happy, if the Authors of those Troubles had shar'd more largely in the general Ignorance and Rudeness which they produc'd. Indeed, the Usurper himself had no other Talents, but what Pliny *describes in a Cheat of his time,* || an ungracious Aspect, an unready Tongue, a disturb'd and extravagant Imagination: *And therefore, tho', by force of* Impudence, *or* Madness, he prevail'd on many to think him an Orator, *yet he was such, only according to the inverted Definition,* * an ill Man, unskill'd in speaking. *But then too many of those who prepar'd the way for his unlawful Greatness, were* † Men eloquent at the publick Cost, || who made the worst Use of the best Wits, *and* who, if they could have confin'd their desire of Honours and Preferments within any bounds, whatsoever they propos'd to gain by their Rebellion, the Government would have offer'd to their Obedience. *The Power of Oratory, in misguiding the Turbulent and Seditious, and inflaming Publick Dissension, has, with some, brought an imputation upon the Art it self: And, as a late Philosopher* * *will scarce admit the Art of Rhetorick*

† Cooper's *Hill.*

|| Os confusum, hæsitans lingua, &c. nihil denique præter ingenium insanum: tamen eò impudentiâ, ipsoq; illo furore pervenit, ut à plurimis Orator habeatur. *Plin. L.* iv. *Epist.* vii.

* Vir malus, dicendi imperitus. *ibid.*

† Paterc. *L.* ii. *C.* xlviii. *C. Curio,* homo ingeniosissimè nequam & facundus malo publico.

|| Viri optimis ingeniis malè usi, qui si civilem dignitatis concupissent modum, quidquid tumultuando adipisci gestierunt, quietis obtulisset respublica. Idem de *Gracchis. L.* ii. *C.* vii.

* Mr. *Lock*'s Essay of *Human Understanding, B.* iii. *C.* x.

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to a better Title than the Art of deceiving, *so an ancient Master* ‡ *has affirm'd that* great and remarkable Eloquence is the Foster-child of that Licentiousness which Fools call Liberty. *The Raisers and Fomenters of Popular Tumults, whatever change they have made in the old Question, whether any but a Good Man can be an Orator, have, at least, rendred this incontestable, that none but a Good Man ought to be so.*

With King Charles *the Second's Return, commenc'd the* Augustan *Age of our Language. And that Oratory, as well as Poetry, had a share in this Improvement, will appear, if we consider either that of the Bar, or that of the Pulpit. What can be a more illustrious Evidence of the Former, than those Noble Families, which then held the highest Station in the Laws, and Publick Councils, whose Eloquence has not only descended with their Honours, but increas'd them? The Oratory of the Pulpit owes its Advance and Accomplishment to the same Peaceful Days: and more particularly to the Re-establishments of Quiet and Order in the Famous Universities; where after the Times of Confusion,* ‖ the Minds of Good Men retir'd into those Places of Purity and Innocence, and enjoy'd the Sacred Seats. *These were the* Fountains of Eloquence, *and these will maintain its Streams. It is here, the Candidates of Eloquence, the Youth that are now* * at the Anvil of Study, *prepare and polish those Works that are to shine in after Ages; while they proceed as well in their Pursuits of Knowledge, as Exercises of Wit, upon that Maxim which they have heard from a Professor eminent in both,* He that can find charming Beauties in an Heathen Au-

‡ Magna ista & notabilis eloquentiæ alumna licentiæ, quam stulti libertatem vocant. *Dialog. de Orator.*

‖ Secedit animus in loca pura atque innocentia, fruiturq; sedibus sacris.---- hæc eloquentiæ primordia, hæc penetralia. *Dialog. de Orat.*

* Juvenes, & in ipsâ studiorum incude positi, *ibid.*

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thor, and none in the Holy Scriptures, has not yet the Genius of a Christian. *That Vein of Preaching which has run so pure since the Happy Restoration, that compacted strength of Reason, that just and natural Method, that Harmony of Words and Thoughts, that Devotion without Rapture, that Affection without Violence, that Easiness which is not Mean, that Authority which is not Assuming, may contend, in the Praise of Sacred Eloquence, with all Rivals of all Countries and Times. Nor will he be charg'd with Injury to the Fathers of the Primitive Church, or Flattery to those of our own, who shall affirm that we have seen at one time more than one Patriarch, who in the Pulpit was not less than a* Chrysostome. *Mr.* Rapin *does not fail to tell us of Wonders perform'd by the* French *Preachers. Two especially, as well in regard to their distinguish'd Talent, as for the Honour of his own Order, he has drawn at full length, and finish'd them with all his Art and Colours. But if, as he directs us, we appeal to their printed Works for the Attestation of their Merit, we shall find that these Eminent Persons, tho' accomplish'd in every thing that their Language or Genius will permit, yet in judicious and solid Decisions, in Weight and Dignity of Expression, in a masculine Modesty as well as Beauty, with whatever else is necessary,* * to give the Face, and not the Picture of Eloquence, *do by no means out shine those Lights of our Nation and Age, who are as obvious to our Admiration, as they are above our Character.* Who those are (*says a Patron, and Example, of* Modern Learning,) who have succeeded the *Hookers*, the *Chillingworths*, the *Sandersons*, and the *Hammonds* of the last Age, to such excellent purpose for the Present, and those that shall come after, I need not name, but shall rather conclude with that saying of *Velleius Paterculus*, upon a not much unlike Occasion, *Vivorum ut admiratio magna,*

* Faciem eloquentiæ, non imaginem præstare. *Dial. de Orat.*

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ka cenſura difficilis †. *It is not credible that Poſterity ſhould ſpeak of* Engliſh *Sermons, without doing Right to the moſt ſolidly Inſtructive, and ſublimely Eloquent, that the Church or Univerſity could receive from the Publick Orator of both. The compleat Learning of Dr.* Maurice, *animated with ſo much true Vigour of Wit and Style, has been happily follow'd by the late unanſwerable Defences of the Church of* England *againſt the ſame reviv'd Notions, and pretended Rights. As this Age applauds the inexhauſted ſtore of things and words in Dr.* Barrow, *the next will acknowledge that one of his Learned Succeſſors began the Reputation of Mr.* Boyl's *Lecture. The refin'd Thought, and choice Manner which we admire in the Writings of the late Dean of* Sarum, *thoſe who come after us will affirm to have been continued in other Ornaments of the ſame Church. Nor will the Reſpect which is ſo juſtly paid to the clear Vein of Argument, and excellent Spirit of Dr.* Calamy, *be denied to the natural Perſuaſiveneſs, the eaſie and popular Reaſon, of the Friend who perform'd the good Office at his Funeral. An Encomium of the Living is not to be offer'd but under ſome Diſguiſe, ſuch as may cover it at once from Publick Envy and Private Modeſty. We are not to congratulate the Happineſs of a Divinity-Chair, or attempt the Character of an* Engliſh *Profeſſor; but we may repeat what we have read of a Philoſophical School, and of a Profeſſor at* Rome, * *Euphrates* diſ-

† *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning. C.* xxix.

* Plin. L. i. *Epiſt.* x. *Euphrates* diſputat ſubtiliter, graviter, ornatè; frequenter etiam Platonicam illam ſublimitatem & latitudinem effingit. Sermo eſt copioſus & varius, dulcis in primis, & qui repugnantes quoque ducat & impellat.—— Nullus horror in vultu, nulla triſtitia, multum ſeveritatis: reverearis occurſum, non reformides. Vitæ ſanctitas ſummæ comitas par. Inſectatur vitia, non homines; nec caſtigat errantes, ſed emendat. Sequaris monentem attentus, & pendens; & perſuadere tibi etiam quum perſuaſerit cupias.—— Mihi tamen hoc unum non perſuadet, ſatius eſſe iſta facere, quàm cum illo dies totos audiendo diſcendoq; conſumere.

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pute's with Gravity, Subtilty, and Accuracy; and upon many occasions shews himself equal to the Height and Compass of *Plato's* Style. His Language is rich and copious, but especially sweet and attractive, and such as Prejudice itself is unable to resist. There's nothing of Rigour or Moroseness in his Aspect, but a great deal of true Severity. You could not meet him without Reverence; but you might without Terror: His Countenance would awe, but not abash or discompose yours. The Strictness of his Life is endear'd by the no less remarkable Affability of his Manners. He distinguishes the Vice from the Person; and does not censure but reform. You'd be all Ear at his Discourses; and after you was perfectly convinc'd, would covet the Pleasure of a New Conviction. There's one thing only, of which he can never convince me; that 'tis better to do *any thing* than to pass whole Days in attending him, and ever to hear a Man by whom I might ever learn and improve. *As the Foreign Orators have need of all their Action, to compensate the Inequality of their Composition, so the* English, *while they neglect not that Part, are yet chiefly employ'd in strengthning and adorning this. For nothing can long influence the Will that does not satisfie the Judgment, nor can that Flame survive this Fuel: And tho' we should grant that* Sound without Sense *might* persuade, *yet then the Persuasion dies with the Sound. It is natural to carry on these Advantages from the Bar, the Pulpit, and the Chair, to the Senate-house and the Throne; the Speeches deliver'd from both, in the Late and the Present Reign, being incomparably superior to those diffus'd and formal Harangues, in which others have so long triumph'd. When so* Great Originals *shall be faithfully set down in the Records of Time, they will be nobler Testimonies of the Eloquence of a Nation, than could have been given by the feign'd and studied Discourses of any Writers, howsoever exquisitely perform'd, by a*

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Thucydides *or a* Saluſt, *a Lord* Bacon *or* Herbert.

If we thus paſs from Oratory to Hiſtory, tho' the two Noble Authors laſt mention'd have deſerv'd greatly of it, yet that they ſhould fill up all its meaſures, the time of their Writing might alone have forbidden, more diſtant on the one ſide from the Tranſactions they relate, than on the other from the laſt improvement of our Tongue. It is the Remark of my Lord Bacon *himſelf, that* * the Hiſtory of Time, eſpecially more ancient than the Age of the Writers, does often fail in the Memory of Things, and contains blank Spaces, which the Wit and Conjecture of the Writer uſes to ſeize upon and fill up: *And it may be preſum'd, that neither he, nor his noble Follower, have always denied themſelves this Privilege of their excellent Wit. For, may we not often obſerve ſome Great Perſon of their Story, not only ſpeaking with their Eloquence, but acting by their Capacity, which render'd them the Miniſters, as well as Hiſtorians, of former Reigns? The Character of their reſpective Styles, may ſeem to bear a Reſemblance to that of the two Kings; the one ſhewing more Gravity, Caution and Artifice, the other a more natural Freedom, and a bolder Neglect. With this Illuſtrious Pair of Hiſtorians, are deſervedly join'd in common Eſteem, two other Gentlemen of admirable Wit and Eloquence, Mr.* Samuel Daniel, *and Sir* William Temple, *who as they have adorn'd the ſame remote Period, from our firſt* Originals, *to the End of the* Conqueror's *Reign, ſo they have as much agreement in the weight of their Reflections, the copiouſneſs and vigour of their Elocution, as can hold proportion with the diſtance of fourſcore Years between them. It is not to be denied, that the latter Great Perſon has had a large and noble Part in the Refinement of the* Engliſh *Wit and Style, and has ſhewn that true* Race *in the manner of his Compoſition, which may be*

* *Adv. of Learning, B. ii. C. vii.*

ſo

so well distinguish'd in the Genius of his Family. The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, *as it will always hold an honourable Place in the* English Historical Library, *so it is universally acknowledg'd as a Great Master-piece of Modern Writing. 'Tis remarkable that the very Art and Fineness of the Composure has by some been made an Objection against the Work; and that another Learned Person, who undertook to give a* Specimen of Errors and Defects in it, *at the same time decker'd its* Reputation *to be* firmly and deservedly establish'd. *It may be said of these Criticks, with regard to the Reverend Author, as of* Cæsar *in respect of* Cato, *they have* ‖ so censur'd as to commend him.

But what has display'd the Advantage of English *History in all its Extent and Perfection,* is the History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in *England,* &c. *by the Right Honourable* Edward *Earl of* Clarendon: *a Work the Dignity and Importance of which can only be express'd by those Great and Wise Discourses, with which it is so fully introduc'd. As this Noble Author was a Witness to the first gathering of that Tempest, which afterwards with so much Courage and Success, he labour'd to appease; so his coming into Publick Affairs with the most unbiass'd Freedom, and his embracing the Cause of his Prince, upon an early Conviction of its Justice, have guarded him on both sides from any Suspicion he might have incurr'd, had he been either an Hereditary Retainer to the Royal House, or added to it by a late Repentance. He has the same Happiness with Mr.* Hooker *and some few others, the Greatest of Writers and Men, to give such a Specimen of well-poiz'd Judgment, of Majestick and Religious Gravity, in the very*

‖ Quem tamen C. Cæsar ita reprehendit ut laudet. Plin. l. 1. Epist. xi.

entrance

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entrance of his Work, as to ensure the Belief, and engage the Veneration, of his Readers. It might be obvious to remark, that there is not one Excellence or Grace, of History, requir'd by Mr. Rapin, *which had not been before exemplify'd by the Lord Chancellor: But this, perhaps, would add more to the Praise of the* French *Critick, than of the* English *Historian. Nor is it less Vulgar, to observe, in his Style, the Weight and Severity of* Thucydides *and* Mariana, *temper'd with the flowing Easiness of* Livy *and* Davila; *in his Reflections, the Wisdom of* Polybius, *and Penetration of* Tacitus, *but the former under the Conduct of Religion, the latter of Good Nature; in his Treatises and Deliberations, the Sagacity of F. Paul, as well as his Accuracy of Disposition; in his Characters, and among them of more than one* Catiline, *the Discernment and Felicity of* Sallust, *with a richer Variety. But neither of these Methods can illustrate the Prevalence of a Great and Superior Genius, unrestrain'd by Rules, and incommensurate with Examples, or, in my Lord* Bacon's *Expression,* imitating none, and inimitable. *We may no less truly apply to him, what has been so finely said of that his great Predecessor,* * his Style, as for the most part it describes Men's Minds, as well as Pictures do their Bodies, so it did *his* above all Men Living. *For, to the Greatness of his Mind is owing that vast and comprehensive reach, and full grasp of all Affairs, that bold Expressiveness, and strong significancy of Language, with those* fierce and terrible Graces, *which Mr.* Rapin, (after Demetrius Phalereus) *commends in the Father of Poets, but cannot find in any Writer of History: to the Clearness of his Mind, that curious thread of Connexion, in all the Labyrinth of Events, never spun so fine as not to have hold of the main Subject, and there-*

* *History of the Royal Society, p.* 36.

fore

sure, in many Places, the smaller the more admirable, at supporting so great a Weight: and, above all, to the Piety of his Mind, that Reverend and Devout Acknowledgment of the Hand of Divine Providence, in the Conduct of both Estates, as well in wounding *as in* binding up. *How justly might this Great Person have been call'd upon in that Address of* Atticus *to* Tully, † It is long that we have desir'd, or rather demanded, an History from you; this is a Present which you owe, not only to Scholars and to the University, but to the Publick, and to your Country, which as it was sav'd by your Counsels, so it ought to be adorn'd by your Pen? *It was the modest and sensible Complaint of the ingenious Translators of* Davila, *that their Version, publish'd in* 1647, came much shorter of equalling the Original, and Master's Work, than the Miseries of *their* Times *did* of those that are the Subject of it. *But when the Miseries of their Times were consummate in the next infamous Year, and after a train of deplorable Misfortunes, which only seem'd light by that Comparison, at length terminated in a miraculous Restoration, this matchless History of our Misery and our Happiness will be confess'd to have been* a glorious Addition to the Deliverance, *and will contribute to the rendring* our Nation the happiest under Heaven, if God shall be pleas'd to *make it the Instrument of* adding Establishment and Perpetuity to the Blessings He then restor'd.

Hence we might, with good Omens, proceed to take a View of the State of Philosophy in our Country; because a most accomplish'd Author, who more than forty Years since gave us hopes of this History of the Civil

† *Cic. de Leg. L.* 1. Postulatur à te jamdiu, vel flagitatur potiùs historia: — atque non solum mihi videris eorum studiis qui literis delectantur, sed etiam patriæ, debere hoc munus, ut ea quæ salva per te est, per te eundem sit ornata.

Wars,

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Wars, *and by* ||, some Prophetical Imagination *thought it* reserv'd for the Glory *of that* Age, *to finish an Undertaking, that might* challenge all the Writings of past or present Times, *has himself been the Historian of our Philosophical Adventures. The first Part of that Work by which he has so much adorn'd, and no less inspirited,* the Royal Society of *London* for the improving of Natural Knowledge, *is a Narrative of the Progress of Philosophy, and indeed of all Arts and Learning, from their Rise in the* East, *to the Establishment of this Illustrious Company; the Second, an account of it's Beginning, Growth, and Settlement, together with a Transcript of it's real Inventions and Experiments; and the Third, a Compleat and Noble Apology for so brave an Institution: the whole being enlightned with such Eloquence, as is above all Description, but what it deserv'd from the Poetry of his Friend:*

His Candid Style, like a clean Stream does slide,
And his bright Fancy all the way
Does like the Sun-shine in it play:
It does, like *Thames*, the best of Rivers, glide,
Where the God does not rudely overturn,
But gently pour the Chrystal Urn, (guide.
And with judicious Hand does the whole Current
Thus all the Beauties Nature can impart, (Art.
And all the comely Dress, without the Pains of

Yet the Character will be still further justified, and the Friendship requited, so long as the Life of Mr. Cowley, *shall be own'd to be the most Correct and Masterly since that of the* Roman Atticus. * Thus, by perpetua-

|| *History of the Royal Society. p.* 43, 44.

* Redditus est *L. Syllæ* debitus honor, cujus immortalitati *Capito* prospexit pariter & suæ: neque enim magis decorum & insigne est, statuam in foro populi Romani habere quàm ponere. Plin. L. i. *Epist.* xvii.

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ting his Friend's Honours, he has happily consulted his own: For 'tis not less Noble and Illustrious to give, than to receive a Monument of Immortality.

And since Mr. Cowley *is here mention'd, it ought not to be omitted, that the Society of* English *Philosophers owe much to the assistance of that excellent Man, as well in his Proposal for their Settlement, as his Panegyrick upon their Endeavours. If we enquire who it was that mov'd the first Springs of this famous Enterprize, we shall find both Historian and Poet, referring that Honour to my Lord* Bacon. *And we have an advantage in this Article, that Foreigners, who are less acquainted with the Poetry, History, or Eloquence of the* English, *do yet allow their Claim of being the chief Restorers of Philosophy, and look upon that Great Man in particular, as the* Columbus *of the New World of Science. He first disdain'd the Old Method of* * breaking the weight of things with the nicety and minuteness of Questions, *and, according to his own Comparison, instead of* † going up and down with a small Watch-candle into every Corner of *Knowledge, set* up one great Branch of Lights, by which all *might* be seen at once. *He seems to have govern'd himself by the same Maxim in his Philosophical, that* Quintilian *propos'd in his Oratorical* Institutions; ‖ I would have the Person whom I instruct, to be rather a Wise man of *Rome* than of *Greece*: One that is not so much vers'd in Notional Debates, as in real Experiments and Effects, not so much a Subtle Disputer, as a Man of Conversation and Business. *His admirable Works, that especially which is so worthily entituled* of the Advance-

* *Adv. of Learning. B.* i. *C.* iv.

† *Ibid.*

‖ *Quintil. Institut. L.* xii. *c.* ii. Ego illum quem instituo *Romanum* quendam esse volam sapientem, qui non secretis disputationibus, sed rerum experimentis atque operibus verè civilem virum exhibeat.

ment

ment of Learning, *eſtabliſh'd the firſt Marriage-Articles between the Rational and the Experimental Philoſophy, from which Alliance has ſprung all the fair Offspring of Modern Diſcoveries. It cannot be unacceptable to hear him giving his Judgment in two great Caſes, that of the Doctrine of* Forms, *and that of the Improvement of Aſtronomy by Natural Philoſophy.* † As it were not a thing eaſie, (*ſays he*) nor any way uſeful, to ſeek the Form of that Sound, which makes a Word, becauſe Words, through Compoſition and Tranſpoſition of Letters, are infinite; but to enquire the Form of Sound which expreſſes ſome ſimple Letter, (namely, with what Colliſion, with what Application of the Inſtruments of Voice it is made) is a thing comprehenſible and eaſie, which Form of Letters once known preſently leads us to the Form of Words; in like manner, to enquire the Form of a Lyon, of an Oak, of Gold, nay, of Water, of Air, is a vain Purſuit; but to enquire the Forms of Denſe, Rare, Hot, Cold, Heavy, Light, Tangible, Pneumatick, Volatile, Fixt, and the like, both of Configurations and Motions, Forms of the firſt Rank and Order, and which, as the Letters of the Alphabet, are not ſo many in Number, and yet build up and ſupport the Eſſences and Forms of all Subſtances; this is that very Point which we Aim at, and endeavour to Compaſs. *Again, as to the Union of Aſtronomy and Phyſicks, he ſets down that part of Aſtronomy, which is Natural or* Phyſical, *as wanting in his Time, and calls it* * Living Aſtronomy, *to diſtinguiſh it from the Dead and Vulgar; which latter he compares to* Prometheus's *Offering of an* Ox ſtuft with Straw, *preſenting as it were, the* Surface and outward Hide, fairly and artificially fill'd up with Syſtems and Schemes, *but wanting*

† *Adv. of Learning. B.* iii. *C.* iv.
* *Ibid.*

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the Entrails and Vital parts, *the true* Natural Reason *and* Principles, *upon which the* Theory *ſhould be built So that if the Origine and Variety of Forms, has been ſo well trac'd and purſued through all its intricate Mazes, by the Excellent Mr.* Boyle, *and other Experimenters, as Naturaliſts, and by Mr.* Lock *as a Metaphyſician, we ſee who it was that gave them the Clue. And if Aſtronomy, graffed upon the Principles of Nature, and cultivated by the Mathematicks, has grown up into a Science, and become infallible; 'tis no leſs certain, (with all due Reſpect to the Memory of the Great Men of other Nations,) that the Glory of Philoſophy among the Moderns began with my Lord* Bacon, *and ends in Sir* Iſaac Newton. *That the Great Principle of Mutual* Attraction *or* Gravitation, *reviv'd and demonſtrated by the latter, was at leaſt in the Wiſh and Deſire of the former, we may gueſs from another Paſſage of the ſame Work:* † Whoever (*ſays he*) ſhall reject the feigned Divorces of Superlunary and Sublunary Bodies, and ſhall intentively obſerve the Appetencies of Matter, and the moſt Univerſal Paſſions, which in either Globe are exceeding Potent, and tranſverberate the Univerſal Nature of things, he ſhall receive clear Information concerning Cœleſtial Matters, from the things ſeen here with us. *It would be a vain Preſumption to compare and decide the Merit of thoſe who have come the neareſt to theſe profound Genius's, either in projecting or executing, either in Noble Conceptions or in laborious and ſucceſsful Application.* * The Learned will eaſily diſtinguiſh who they are that moſt reſemble ſo Great Examples, that no one may complain of our omitting thoſe, whom he particularly values and approves. *And while the Uni-*

† *Ibid.*

* Facile eſt ſtudioſis, qui ſint his ſimillimi judicare; ne quiſquam, queratur omiſſos fortè aliquos eorum quos ipſe valde probet. *Quintil Inſtit.* l. x. *C.* i.

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versities applaud the Succeſſive Eminence of their Mathematical Profeſſors, they will obſerve how largely thoſe of the Savilian *Chairs, have repair'd the Honour of their Founder, whoſe elaborate Eſſay in Geometry, has been the Subject of Wit and Railery to a Philoſopher among our Neighbours* †.

A very Judicious and Pious Author, ‖ *has mention'd among the Imperfections of Natural Philoſophy, the reſolving all into the* Newtonian *Principle. And ſuch indeed it is to the Boaſters of Humane Sufficiency, to be thus oblig'd to implore the Succour of Religion in the Diſtreſs and Exigency of their Schemes, as well as of their Lives. But to others it ſeems the Perfection and Glory of the Philoſophy of Nature, to have all the Parts of its Chain inſeparably connected, and the whole faſten'd to the Throne of the Author of Nature. The Vanity of* Science falſly ſo called, *has not been more apparent in thoſe who ſet up Demonſtration to the Excluſion of Providence, than the Dignity and Uſe of true Science in thoſe who have made Providence itſelf the Subject of Demonſtration. It is indeed, ſaid by Mr.* Paſcal, After a Man was perfectly well perſuaded that the Proportions of Numbers are really Immaterial, Eternal Truths, depending on the Firſt and Original Truth, in which they ſubſiſt, and which is no other than God, *he* ſhould think *ſuch an one* but very little advanc'd in the Affair of his Soul. *But although that accurate Reaſoner declin'd the Phyſical and Mathematical, for the Moral Proofs of Religion, yet 'tis probable he had not been ſo compleat a Maſter of the Latter, had he not excell'd in the Former. The ſame is evident in many Learned and Great Perſons of our Nation, who have perform'd in juſt Diſcourſes, what Mr.* Paſcal *admirably attempted in ſcatter'd Fragments and unfiniſh'd (yet ineſtimable)* Thoughts.

† Malebranche *de la Recherche de la Verité*, L. ii. C. vii.

‖ *Reflections on* Learning. *Chap.* vii.

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They have ſpoken of the Divine Eſſence and Attributes, of the Truth and Authority of the Holy Scriptures, of the Souls Immortality, of the Nature and Object of Faith, and of the Myſteries of Chriſtianity, *with ſo cloſe and vigorous, ſo eaſie and perſpicuous a Courſe of Argument, as may ſooner convince the Doubting, than if they had drawn out the fineſt Train of Geometrical Concluſions. But ſtill this diſcovers the excellent Service of their abſtracted Knowledge, in giving Strength and Clearneſs to the Views of their Reaſon, and ſhews the Mathematicks and Metaphyſicks, to have no leſs a Power of fixing the Judgment, than Muſick has of agitating the Affections.*

This is the Uſe of Philoſophy in Religion, *which Mr.* Rapin *has made the Subject of his concluding Eſſay. That he ſhould yield any part of this Glory to* the way which *he* calls Hereſie, *was not to be expected. But it were to be wiſh'd, at leaſt, that he had not fallen into the Vulgar Error of his Communion, by charging an utter contempt of Philoſophy, not only upon* German *Anabaptiſts, and the like Fanatical Innovators, but upon Proteſtants in general. As to what concerns the Honour of the* Engliſh, *let an unprejudic'd Adverſary judge, whether they have not employ'd the Maxims of true Philoſophy with equal Succeſs, againſt* Romaniſts, *by whom it is boaſted, againſt* Socinians *by whom it is perverted, and againſt* Enthuſiaſts, *by whom 'tis deſpiſed: Whether the ſolid and uſeful Part of the* Ariſtotelian *Doctrine is not better taught and defended in our Univerſities, than in Foreign Seminaries: Whether out of the Works of Biſhop* Sanderſon *there might not be compil'd as juſt a* Summa Theologiæ, *as has been left by any of the* School-men: *Whether Mr.* Chillingworth's *skill in Logick might not challenge the whole Order of the* Jeſuits: *And whether we may not affirm more rightly of Biſhop* Pearſon, *what Cardinal* Contareni *is ſaid to have confeſs'd of* Martin Bucer, * *that,* For accompliſh'd Knowledge of Divinity and Philoſophy, He alone might be oppos'd to all the Doctors of the Church of *Rome.*

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There is indeed a very artful and agreeable Manner of Writing, compos'd of a fine Mixture of Wit and Eloquence, with Moral and Philoſophical Reflections, which the French, *by the ſprightlineſs of their Genius, have particularly cultivated, and in which they have been thought to excel. The* Reflections *of the Duke* de Rochefaucault, *M.* Fontanelle's Dialogues, *and M.* Bruyere's Characters *are Originals in this kind, yet ſuch as will not refuſe to be rank'd with the* Eſſays *of the Lord* Bacon, *Sir* William Temple, *Mr.* Cowley, *and Mr.* Collier, *which under the ſame general Title have a very different Excellence and Beauty. Father* Malebranche, *with the other curious Enquirers of his Nation, have not carried away ſo much Glory by the fine Conception or accurate Texture and Harmony of their Schemes, as not to leave a great and laſting Praiſe to the* Eſſay of Humane Underſtanding, *and the two Sublime* Theories *of the Natural and Intellectual Worlds. Nor are there among the* French *Pieces, Tranſlated or Abbreviated from the Ancient Moraliſts, any that have reach'd the bright Expreſſion and ſurprizing Turn, which we are charm'd with in Sir* Roger L'Eſtrange's Seneca, *and Mr.* Collier's Antoninus. *And here we ought, without Envy, to acknowledge, how much the* Engliſh *Language has been enrich'd and adorn'd by the beſt Authors of other Nations or Times, which theſe and the like* excellent Tranſlators *have truly* made their own.

But what in us is want of Strength or Voice,
In them was either Modeſty or Choice : *

* *And while there are ſo many Verſions that* deſerve Praiſe, *it will be happy for ſome others if they may* deſerve Pardon.

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* *Sir* John Denham.

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It does not argue a Barrenneſs in the Genius of the Engliſh, *that they are continually bringing in the Stores of their Neighbour-Nation, becauſe there is ſo vaſt a Subject for the latter to make Repriſals. Nor can it be objected, that the Riches of our Language are wholly owing to their Treaſury, or that the beſt* Engliſh *is but* French *melted down. For tho' we have receiv'd a large, and perhaps too large a Fund of their* Words; *yet as to the Grace and Order of* Style, *the Conſtruction of the two Languages being nearly the ſame, they will flow with like eaſineſs one into the other. For an inſtance on our ſide, we may offer the fine Compliment made in the* Hiſtory *of our* Royal Society, *to the* Hiſtory *of the* French Academy: But I ſhall ſay no more of this Academy, that I may not deprive my Reader of the Delight of peruſing their own Hiſtory, written by *Monſieur de Peliſſon*; which is ſo maſculinely, ſo chaſtly, and ſo unaffectedly done, that I can hardly forbear envying the *French* Nation this Honour, that while the *Engliſh* Royal Society has ſo much out-gone their Illuſtrious Academy in the Greatneſs of its Undertaking, it ſhould be ſo far ſhort of them in the Abilities of its Hiſtorian. I have only this to alledge in my Excuſe, that as they undertook the Advancement of the Elegance of Speech, ſo it became their Hiſtory to have ſome reſemblance to their Enterprize: Whereas, the Intention of ours being not the Artifice of Words, but a bare Knowledge of Things, my Fault may be eſteem'd the leſs, that I have written of Philoſophers without any Ornament of Eloquence. * Mais je ne diray rien d'avantage de cette Academie, afin de ne priver pas mon Lecteur du contentement de lire leur propre hi-

* *According to the Tranſlation prefix'd to the Hiſtory of the* French Academy: *Edit.* Hague 1688.

ſtoire,

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ſtoire, écrité par M. de Peliſſon : Ce qu'il à fait d'un Stile, ſi mâle, ſi chaſte, & ſi éloigné d'affectation, qu' à peine me puis-je abſtenir, d'envier cét honneur à la Nation Francoiſe, de ce que tandis la Societé Royale d'Angleterre à tellement ſurpaſſé leur illuſtre Academie in la grandeur de ſon deſſein, elle eſt ſi inferieure à eux quant à la capacité de ſon Hiſtorien. I'ay ceci ſeulement à alleguer pour mon excuſe, que comme ils ont entrepris l' enricheſſement & la politeſſe du Langage, il etoit bien ſeant à leur Hiſtoire d'avoir quelque reſſemblance à leur Entrepriſe : au lieu que l'intention de la nôtre, n'étant pas l'artifice des paroles, mais la ſeule connoiſſance des choſes, ma faute doit etre eſtimée moindre, en ce que j'ay écrit des Philoſophes, ſans aucun des ornemens de l'Eloquence. *Has not this Generous Character and Noble Addreſs, given a new Supply to their* Academy, *and improv'd, as well as out-gone, the Eloquence which it commends !*

What the ſame Great Writer has obſerv'd of the Engliſh *Wit, that it has* * an excellent Mixture *of the Spirit of the* French *and* Spaniard, *ſeems no leſs true of the* Engliſh *Tongue. But, when after the Advantages given it by the Living Languages, it ſhall be farther improv'd upon the Ancient Models, and be made capable of that bold Tranſpoſition of Words, and thoſe Powerful Elegancies in Proſe, which Mr.* Milton, *with his Happy* Second, *have ſo nobly diſplay'd in Verſe, it may then attain its laſt Perfection and Growth,*

And in the *Roman* Majeſty appear, (near:
Which none knows better, and none comes ſo
Lord Roſcommon.

In the mean time, we may with Juſtice conclude, that † we want only a few more ſtanding Examples,

* *Hiſtory of the* Royal-Society. *B.* i. *p.* 43.
† *Hiſtory of the* Royal-Society. *B.* i. *p.* 43.

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and a little more Familiarity with the Ancients, to excel all the Moderns: *Especially since the Author of that Remark has contributed so much to the supplying of both these Defaults, the one by his Writings, the other by his Patronage. Indeed, the Comparative Excellence of our Country should be argued by those only, who themselves are Instances of the Advantages which they maintain, and are able to make them increase under their Hands. This imperfect Survey may seem sufficient for the Prefacer's Abilities and Purpose, who the less he approaches to* Pliny's *Rule, that* || none but an Artist ought to judge of Arts, *the more sincerely he joins in* Pliny's *Confession*; * I am not of the number of those who envy others the Gifts which they want themselves; on the contrary I feel a particular Delight, if the Blessings which have been denied to me are yet possess'd and enjoy'd by my Friends. *This perhaps, is such an Apology as may want another Excuse. The borrow'd Ornaments of Discourse are exploded under the Name of* Pedantry, *and the disuse of them has been reckon'd among the Improvements of Modern Style. Not to engage here in their Defence, from the Examples of Monsr.* Voiture, *and Mr.* Cowley, *'tis enough, to justifie the retaining them on the present Occasion, that they are constantly us'd by Monsr.* Rapin, *and that 'twas not unfit the Preface should bear this affinity to the Work. Besides, it being here affirm'd, that the Wit and Language of the* English *may be still carried to greater heights by a stricter Alliance with the Ancient Patterns, the Liberty taken in this respect may contribute somewhat to the Design; since what we have barely cited and translated, others may be able to imitate or exceed.* Novemb. 1705.

|| *L.* 1. *Epist.* x. De Pictore, Sculptore, &c. judicare nisi artifex non potest.

* Neque enim ego, ut multi, invideo aliis bonum quo ipse careo; sed contrà sensum quendam voluptatemq; percipio, si ea quæ mihi denegantur amicis video superesse. *Ibid.*

THE

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The Design of the Work in General, and in Particular.

THIS Work, which may serve for some sort of Rule in Speaking and Writing; is a Collection of eight Pieces upon all the principal Subjects of fine Letters, compos'd one after another, without any particular relation between them. My first Design was to endeavour the restoring of a good Taste among the Ingenious, which has been somewhat vitiated by that Spirit of too profound Learning, which reign'd in the Age before us. But since 'tis visible, that we can know nothing of Politeness in perfection, but by conversing with old Authors, and that whatever Genius a Man brings to support his pretensions to Knowledge, he cannot yet succeed in it without a particular Veneration for pure and sound Antiquity; I thought it needful to begin with the exciting and encouraging of this Veneration. For none will doubt but that the Works of the Ancients are the true Fountains whence we are to draw these Riches and Treasures, whence good Sense is form'd and compos'd, and whence arises that admirable Penetration which enables us to distinguish true Beauties from false in Nature, and by them to rectifie our Judgment in those of Art.

This is what may engage the Learned to countenance my Attempt; under which I propose to them the greatest Examples, in the

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Comparisons, and the best Rules in the *Reflections*. That is, I intend this Work as an Abridgment and Summary View of whatever is excellent in the several parts of Polite Learning. For after all, 'tis one of the Faults of our Age, that we do not apply our selves so strictly as we ought, to these Great Originals; which alone can fashion our Wit, and give the right Turn to our Souls. *Alcibiades* was of this Opinion, who by his Example, and by the Value he set on the best Authors, contributed so much to the Polishing of the Times he liv'd in, and of Cultivating that peculiar Nicety of Judgment which heretofore reign'd at *Athens*. We are told, that having one day met with a Pedantic Pretender to Learning, who had not read *Homer*, he rejected him with the utmost Contempt, as not apprehending how it was possible even to counterfeit the Scholar without some Acquaintance with that incomparable Author. For to engage, with the warmest Application, in the Study of those great Men, was then the establish'd Method of improving the Mind, and gaining the Character of Sense. And, all things consider'd, we are to expect little that's Just and Substantial, but what is deriv'd from their Stores. There's nothing false in their Judgment, nothing wide or loose in their Manners, nothing affected in their Character: but all has a tendency to good Sense; for which they had so exquisite a Relish, as to be utter Strangers to those brillant Expressions, those specious Thoughts and Words that dazzle the Vulgar. So that if we once forsake those pure Sources of Wit and Style, we shall be in danger of wandring perpetually, and shall never proceed with any assured steps in the ways of Knowledge, of which they are the only accomplish'd Masters and Guides. For,

Plutarch. *in* Alcibiad.

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For, as the chief Ambition of these Ancient Worthies, design'd by Nature for the Instruction of others, was to dedicate their Attainments to the publick Service, and to conceal nothing that might be profitable to Ages to come; they were careful not to make one false step in the vast course of Arts and Sciences, which they pursued for the improvement of Mankind. In those good Primitive Days, Virtue was courted for her Native Charms, without those external Ornaments with which Fortune is pleas'd sometimes to invest her; and the greatest Contention then among the Learned, was to keep nothing Secret that might inform and benefit Posterity. We should value the Judgment of the *Roman* Philosopher, who tells us, there are some Persons by the superiority of their Genius destin'd to be Masters to others, to whom we ought to apply and adhere, and to nourish our selves with their Virtue and Substance, if we would lay a solid Foundation for Wisdom.

Cùm adhuc nuda virtus placeret vigebant artes ingenuæ, summumq; certamen inter homines erat ne quid profuturum seculis diu lateret. Satyric.

Certis ingeniis immorari & innutriri oportet.

I forbear to speak of the Worth and Excellence of these Studies, without which a Man of Honesty and Civility would scarce be able to find any Sweetness or Agreeableness in Life; because from our acquaintance with these, as from a secret Fountain of Pleasure, springs all the Joy of the Mind, and Entertainment of the Understanding. 'Tis certain, a Man cannot arrive at any tolerable degree of Politeness, or of that Genteelness which gives such an Air to Human Converse, but by some tincture of these Faculties, and some knowledge of those who have excell'd in them. It was only by this means that *Mæcenas* became the Favourite of the greatest Emperour of the World, and the finest Gentleman of the most Polite Court that ever was. As he had a nice

Qui nullius ingenio se familiariter applicant, omnia cursim transmittunt. Senec. Ep. 11.

Vitam esse insuavem sine his literis & studiis. Cic. de Orat. 1.

Constat Mæcenatem fuisse litera-

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Taste of the several Exercises of Wit so he was very happy in his own Compositions, and encourag'd those that had a Genius for Letters, as well by his Example, as his Bounty; being remarkable for his Talent in Verse. *Quintilian*, conceiv'd so high an *Idea* of the Dignity of these Studies, that he could not but condole the hard Destiny of *Germanicus*, in his being Born to govern the Empire, and reign Master of the World, when otherwise he must have prov'd the greatest Wit, and the most finish'd Poet of his Time. And the same Author, who is always so exact in his Judgment, does not without difficulty excuse *Cæsar* upon this Plea, that the Greatness of his Soul, and the vast pursuits of his Ambition, hindred him from carrying his Eloquence to that degree of Perfection which was promis'd by his *Divine* Genius, as that Master is pleas'd to Style it.

tum peritissimum, & plura carmina composuisse. Serv. in Georg. 2. *Germanicum Augustum ab institutis studiis deflexit cura terrarum; parumq; diis ipsum est esse eum maximum Poetarum.* Quint. Inst. L. X. c. 1. *Concedamus Cæsari, ut propter magnitudinem cogitationum, & occupationes rerum; minus Eloquentiâ effecerit, quàm Divinum ejus ingenium postulabat.* Dial. de Orat. In Marcell

We see what Notion these Great Men entertain'd of the several parts of Learning, of which I am now making an Abridgment, and what place they held in their Esteem. And I persuade my self, it will not be taken unkindly, that I offer this Collection to the Publick, to acquaint our Age with a new Method of teaching the Sciences as well by Authority, in proposing the noblest Patterns, as by Reason, in delivering the truest Maxims that can be given for the Conduct of so important a Design. *Plutarch* informs us, that the Great *Marcellus* who was five times Consul, and who worsted *Hannibal* in so many several Encounters, was the First that animated and inspir'd the *Romans* with a Love for what was Curious, by exposing to publick View the Pictures and Statues he had taken at *Syracuse*. This is what I would endeavour to do; to kindle in the present

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sent Age an Affection and Passion for fine Learning, by representing these compleat Models in every kind. And this may seem no improper Method of Instruction for Persons of Quality, who shall thus not be oblig'd to descend to the too mechanical way of Vulgar Rules, and that Minuteness of Grammatical Construction, which is ever disagreeable to Men of advanc'd Understandings.

This is the Design of the following Collection, in General; let us now view it in Particular, according to the eight several Discourses of which it is compos'd. I begin the first Tome with the Consideration of Eloquence, the most necessary Faculty, in regard of its extended and universal Use. I endeavour to display it in the Comparison of the two most accomplish'd Standards that the World has known, *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, whom 'tis impossible to study without commencing an Orator, or, at least, without entertaining an Ambition to speak and write exactly. In the Preface to this Comparison I explain the great Rule of this Art, laid down by *Aristotle*, and thence take Occasion to treat of the most essential Parts of Oratory. But nothing seems more capable of letting us into a just Apprehension of this Rule, than the Dispute between *Cicero* and *Brutus* about the most perfect manner of speaking in Publick, which I have represented from the Epistles of the former to his Friend *Pomponius Atticus*, having made use of those Memoirs, to set this Adventure in its true Light, which will be so grateful to the Curious, and to the Lovers of Eloquence. And the Debate of these two famous Men upon a Subject the most worthy of their Observation, may clear up many things in so difficult and

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important a Point, and serve for a Key to the whole Comparison.

The second Piece, which is the Comparison of *Homer* and *Virgil*, does not so much regard the Persons of these Noble Rivals, (equally unknown to us,) as their respective Poems. The whole Discourse turns upon this Hinge, and may be call'd a Treatise of Epick Poetry, since it contains whatever is curious in the Remarks of *Aristotle* and his Expositors, on the Subject, and at the same time enters into the particular *Genius* of these Master-Poets, and admires Originals, in whose Character every Circumstance is observable, and of whom nothing ought to be lost.

The third Piece is the Comparison of *Thucydides* and *Livy*, and is indeed an Abridgment of both their Works. For, having first compar'd the two Historians, in the full Extent of their *Genius* and Character, I proceed to compare their Writings, and omit nothing that might serve to render the Parallel just and accurate. This Piece may not improperly be call'd a Treatise of the sublime Style, of which these Authors had so great a Mastery: besides that the Abridgment of their respective Stories cannot but afford Entertainment to the Curious.

The fourth Piece is the Comparison of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, in which, after having said all that relates to their Persons and different Circumstances of Life, I oppose their Doctrine, in all its Parts, that is, their Logick, their Ethicks, their Physicks, and Metaphysicks; and then conclude with an Historical Account of the Adventures of both their Sects. And this Account may probably have somewhat particular to recommend it; especially to those who desire a tho-

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thorough Acquaintance with these Heroes in Philosophy. To which I may add in general, as to the Pourtraicture of these eight Worthies whom I have set one against the other, that there's nothing elsewhere to be met with so peculiar concerning each of them, nothing that can give us a stronger *Idea* of their Excellence, or a more perfect Knowledge of whatsoever bears any Affinity to their Character.

The Second Tome consists of *Reflections* upon *Eloquence*, *Poetry*, *History*, and *Philosophy*, in the same Order with the precedent Comparisons.

The first Piece in this Tome, which contains the Reflections upon *Eloquence*, is divided into three Parts; Reflections upon the Eloquence of the Times, in general; upon the Eloquence of the Bar, and that of the Pulpit: In which an exact Account is given of what seems remarkable in the use of these several kinds of Eloquence, with the Rules at large upon which the Character of each of them is to be built.

The second Treatise, being the Reflections upon *Poetry*, displays all the several Species of Verse, with their different Characters, and presents the Reader with whatever can be offer'd on the Art of Poesy in general. But what's particular in this Piece, is, that it contains a Judgment upon all the eminent Poets in a Course of almost two thousand Years, that have written in *Greek*, *Latin*, *Italian*, and *Spanish*, and almost in all sorts of Measures. Again, a peculiar Disquisition is here made into the various kinds of Poems, with their distinguishing Beauties: The whole being intermix'd with such Rules, Principles, and Re-

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marks, as may furnish out the compleatest Knowledge of this wonderful Art.

The third Discourse is properly a compleat Body of Historical Instructions, illustrated as well by Rules and Maxims, as by Examples taken from the Ancient and Modern Historians. It explains the Aim and Scope of History, what 'tis it pretends to, what Course it steers, and what End it pursues. Hence it enters into the Discussion of the principal Questions on this Subject; it shews what's the most proper Style of History, or in what manner it ought to be written, whether a Nobleness or a Simplicity of Expression, be most agreeable to its Character; in what the Purity and Simplicity of the Historical Style consists; what should be its Matter, and what its Form; that 'tis *Truth* alone can make it please, and answer its just End and Intention: what should be the distinguishing Rule of its Narrations, of its Circumstances, its Transitions, Figures, Descriptions, Harangues, Characters of Persons, Reflections, Digressions, with whatever belongs to the peculiar Rhetorick of History. The Treatise ends with a Display of the proper *Genius* of an Historian, with regard as well to his Abilities as his Integrity, together with a Censure of the *Greek*, *Latin*, *Italian*, and *Spanish* Historians; and this winds up the third Piece.

The fourth which is written upon *Philosophy*, explains the Rise, Progress, and Decay, and all the Adventures of this Science, thro' the many Ages of its Course. It represents the Character of the Ancient Philosophers, from *Pythagoras* to the last Sect of the *Academies*, and distinguishes this according to the three several Periods of the *Academy*. And having purged Phi-

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Philosophy in general, from all the Stains and Blemishes which most of the eminent Masters, true, or false, have left upon it, having remov'd all Impurity or Error, arising from the Imperfection of their Notions, or Manners, so as to render it an honest and agreeable Entertainment of Mind, it then offers an Abridgment of the Logick, Ethicks, Physicks, and Metaphysicks of all the old Philosophers, but more particularly of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Xeno*, and *Epicurus*, being the Sum of what is memorable in these four Authors, upon these four Parts of Philosophy, not omitting the Sentiments of the Modern Philosophers, what is singular in the Physicks of *Gassendus* and *Descartes*, with their Excellencies and Defaults. And this last Piece concludes with some uncommon Remarks as to the Use of Philosophy in Religion, giving a sort of an Abstract of the several Demonstrations offer'd by Ancient or Modern *Apologists*, for the Establishment of our Holy Faith, and to teach us to be *Christians*, before we are Philosophers, or to be good *Philosophers* only that we may be better *Christians*.

ADVERTISEMENT.

WHatever Care I have taken to omit nothing in this so important Comparison, of the two great Orators, and whatever Assistance I have borrow'd from *Quintilian* and *Plutarch* to render it the more exact, I must confess my self to have been put to new Difficulties by the Controversy between *Cicero* and *Brutus* about the Perfection of Eloquence. *Brutus* was recommended to the Acquaintance of *Cicero* by their Common Friend, *Pomponius* At-

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Atticus; *Cicero*, who had the most exquisite Discernment of true Merit, was affected and even ravish'd with that of *Brutus*, in whom he found such a *Genius* for Oratory, such a Disposition to every thing that was excellent, with so much true Probity and Virtue of Soul. Indeed *Brutus* was then the Person who stood first in the Esteem of all the Men of Wit and Quality at *Rome*. It was by these Advantages that he merited the Familiarity of *Pomponius Atticus*, the most accomplish'd Gentleman in the Commonwealth; who, tho' he declin'd all Employments, and preferr'd the Solitude of a private Life, yet still retain'd the freest Intercourse with those that govern'd the State, such as, *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, *Tully*, *Antony*, *Octavius*, *Lepidus*, and the rest. *Brutus* was no sooner acquainted with his Character, but he conceiv'd an Ambition of being in the Number of his Friends. And he succeeded so well in his Desire, that *Atticus* was charm'd with his Company, and was full of his Praise. He, as we observ'd, first spoke of him to *Cicero*, and had the Honour of tying so strict a Knot between those Generous Hearts. *Cicero* was then about threescore years old, and *Brutus* about thirty. Eloquence was the first Subject of their Conversation: *Atticus* took a Pleasure in engaging them upon this Topick not to create an Animosity, which was so far from his Temper, but to give *Brutus* the fuller View of *Cicero*, whose Character was so establish'd in this Profession, and to unite their Minds in the closer Intimacy and Affection.

They were, at first sight, so prepossess'd in one another's Favour, that perhaps never any Friendship made a greater Progress in a shorter Time. Yet among so many excellent Qualities which engag'd them in this happy Alliance, they

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they yet found themselves to entertain some different Notions on the point of Eloquence, while as yet the Calm and Tranquillity of Publick Affairs allow'd them the Freedom of a Debate, and before the Commonwealth was made a Prey to the Designs of Ambitious Men: *Atticus*, to reconcile their Notions, advised *Cicero* to write his Sentiments upon Oratory, which *Brutus*, by his sweet Compliance of Temper, above all things desired.

Cicero undertook the Argument, in confidence of his Old Reputation. He had indeed been long acknowledg'd for the Great Master of Speaking, and the Orators of his time paid him such a general Deference, that *Hirtius* and *Dolabella*, two of the most eminent of the number, did him the Honour to confess them selves his Scholars; as he himself intimates in a Letter to *Pætus*. In a word, his Judgment on this whole Art had hitherto born so great a Weight, that he did not question its Prevalence with the young Gentleman, against whom he was now engaged. Upon this View, he compos'd his Treatise *of the most Perfect kind of Eloquence*, of which we have only a Fragment remaining. But 'twas a Surprize to him to hear that *Brutus* was not satisfied with his Reasons, and had intimated as much to *Atticus*. *Cicero*, touch'd in his Honour by the Liberty of this young Critick, was impatient to hear *Brutus* himself play the Orator, that he might have his Turn of judging. He soon obtain'd his Wish; *Brutus* spake in the *Capitol*, and sent him the Speech. What Opinion he had of it, he tells their Friend *Atticus*: *I have receiv'd* Brutus's *Speech, from the Author; and I think it to be most finely written, and Eloquent beyond Comparison.* And again, *The Notion*

Bruto nuper scripsoram, rogatu tuo, Cic. ad Attic. Ep. 23. L. 14.

Cum precibus Bruti adductus scripsissem ad eum de optimo genere dicendi, tibi scripsit sibi illud non probari, ibid.

Hirtium & Dolabellam discendi discipulos habeo, cœnandi magistros, Ep. Fam. L. ix. E. 16.

Tibi scripsit, sibi illud quod mihi placet non probari, ad Attic. ibid.

Utinam liceat isti concionari, ibid.

Brutus misit ad me orationem suum; est scripta eloquentissimè, sententiis, verbis, ut nihil possit ulsrà, ibid. *Quod judicium habet de optimo genere dicendi idita confecutus in eâ oratione, ut elegantius nihil esse possit*, ibid.

Notion he has of the most perfect Character of Eloquence he has so well expres'd in his own Composition, that nothing can be more admirable. This seems to me a true Argument of Greatness of Soul in *Tully*, to be so free of his Commendation of this young Orator, who had been no less free in dissenting from his Judgment. For thus he confesses to *Atticus*, *That he had found in this Discourse all manner of Purity, Elegance and Beauty, and, in fine, all the Ornaments of which it was capable.* He acknowledges the whole to be compos'd in such a degree of Perfection, to which nothing can be added, either for the Thoughts or Words. How delighted should we be to see a Discourse so accomplish'd in all its Numbers, and which gave so much Satisfaction to *Cicero*, after *Brutus* had appear'd dissatisfied with *Cicero*'s Present! This is a pitch of Honour and Sincerity which may pass for Heroical!

But after all, *Cicero*, by a refined Strain of Delicacy, objected to him, that in so compleat a Performance, he had not yet preserved all the Decorum necessary to his Character and Person. Indeed, there was Ground for this Censure. *Brutus* harangu'd the People in the *Capitol*, after the Death of *Cæsar*: He was to speak of Liberty, having just before had a hand in rescuing his Country from the Tyrant, and now speaking to those who had concurr'd in the Action: *For my own part*, says *Tully* to *Atticus*, *had I been to appear on that Occasion, I would have spoke with more Ardor and Vehemence; for you know what would have best comported with the Person of the Speaker.* The Argument of Discourse was Liberty, the Auditors were a People the most jealous of their Liberty; and now beginning to breath, after their

Ego si illam causam habuissem, scripsissem ardentius; vides quæ sit persona dicentis, Ep. 2. L. xv. ad Attic.

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their Apprehensions of Servitude, by *Cæsar's* Death: *I might not*, says he, *have display'd so much Politeness and Elegance as* Brutus, *but I would have shewn more Concern and Commotion; And if you reflect a little upon the Vehemence of* Demosthenes, *that Eloquence which, like the strokes of Thunder, was so irresistable, and which render'd him the Object of Wonder and Terror, you will confess that I am in the right, and that the Politest Elegance is not inconsistent with the noblest Resolution.* In the Character which *Brutus* propos'd of the *Athenian* Accuracy and Brightness, nothing could be more accomplish'd: but then all the Perfection of Eloquence does not consist in this Character: there is an Eloquence strong, masculine and nervous, which is Victor over all; and there's an Eloquence soft, charming and agreeable, which is Mistress of all.

Sed si recordabere Demosthenis fulmina, intelliges posse & Atticorum gravissimè dici, ibid.

This Adventure, the Circumstances of which I meet with in the twenty third Epistle of the fourteenth Book, and in the first of the fifteenth Book of *Tully* to *Atticus*, may contribute to the illustrating that Rule which I shall offer, for the Comparing of these two Renown'd Orators, may open the Eyes of Intelligent Persons to discern that there are different Ways and Characters of Eloquence, each of which may be supremely Excellent in its kind; may shew them what is Essential to the main Point here in Debate, and convince them, that the Judgment I venture to pass upon these great Masters, is built upon the most solid Foundation.

But, to come to my particular Design in this Comparison, I declare it is no other than to propose to the present Age an accomplished Standard of Eloquence; it being universally agreed,

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agreed, that *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* are the Men who have carried this Art to its utmost Height, and most absolute Perfection. And 'tis reasonable to believe, we should be blessed with nobler Orators, in the Pulpit, and at the Bar, if these Originals were more closely studied. Besides, they both held so very considerable a Figure in their respective States, that their Life may be many ways useful to Persons of Quality and Distinction; and the Merit of both is of so vast an Extent, that may serve for a Model, not only to Magistrates and Publick Ministers, but likewise to all those that pretend to any Greatness of Soul, or Elevation of Spirit.

The main Point in this whole Comparison, is the fixing of a Rule, by which it may be justly and successfully managed. *Aristotle* has obliged us with such a Rule in the second Chapter of the first Book of his Rhetorick, when he observes, that *the End of Oratory is Perswasion, and that there are three things which have the chief Power to persuade, the Merit of the Speaker, the Disposition of those to whom he speaks, and his manner of Speaking.* Hence we may establish a Method for the trying of these Rival Orators. In the first Part we compare their Personal Merit, which consists in their Integrity and their Ability. In the Second part, we endeavour to fix the Character of Wit and Sense, as it stood in *Athens* and *Rome*, in the time of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*. In the third, which regards the Manner of Speaking, we offer an Abridgment of their Eloquence on both sides. But in our whole Attempt of giving the Pourtraict of these Masters, we ought to take *Quintilian*'s Advice, who was so excellent

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excellent a Judge of both: *We are* (says he) *to pronounce with Modesty and Caution on so Great Men, lest, as it commonly happens in the World, we have the Forwardness to condemn what we have not the Skill to understand.*

De tantis viris modestè & circumspectè pro judicio pronuntiandum, ne quod plerisque accidit, damnent quæ non intelligunt, Institut. x. c. 1.

ERRATA

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ERRATA.

PAge 4. l. 8. f. *have*, r. *find*. p. 21. l. *antepenult*. r. *instruct*. p. 28. *Marg*. r. εὐριοτάτην ἔχει πίστιν τὸ ἦθος. p. 26. *Marg*. r. Μακεδόνων Χρυσίῳ ἀνάλωτος. p. 35. l. 22. r. *into whom*. p. 37. l. 1. r. *rapt*. l. *penult*. r. *we shall confess that Heroes*, &c. p. 39. l. 21. r. *without wishing that* Demosthenes *had taken*. p. 41. r. *Arpinum*. p. 42. l. 11. r. *thing*. l. 26. r. *of the Place*. p. 57. l. 23. del. *that*. p. 53. l. ult. del. *one*. p. 55. r. *arrangement*. p. 57. l. 9, 10. r. *had it been practis'd by Demosthenes*. l. 13. r. *Gravity*. p. 61. r. *proceeded*. p. 75. l. ult. r. *Ausonius*. p. 115. l. 4. r. *than on*. p. 120. l. 32. r. *And 'tis one way of gaining Authority, not to pretend to it*. p. 124. l. *antepenult*. r. *because* Hector's *Death was not the last Decision of Affairs, but only an Obstacle to that Decision remov'd*. p. 126. r. *ragione*. p. 141. r. *primo*. p. 145. l. 22. dele *Hero*. p. 163. r. *and even the Applause*. p. 173. r. *shew what sounds harsh, or what wants Ornament, or where*, &c. p. 174. *Marg*. r. ἀπαραντολογία. p. 177. l. 22. dele *only*. l. 24. dele *likewise*. p. 195. l. 16. r. *collected*. p. 210. f. *Æneide*, r. *Iliade*. f. *Thee Greek*, &c. r.

Yield *Rome* and *Greece*, thy vanquish'd *Iliad* mourn,
A Nobler Offspring hastens to be Born.

p. 215. f. *of the Hopital*, r. *de l' Hopital*. p. 229. f. *young Son*, r. *Grandson*. p. 226. f. *what*, r. *what's*. p. 242. *Marg*. r. *clarissimiq*; 260. f. *interfered*, r. *fallen out*. p. 266. *Marg*. del. *Hist. Rom*. l. 37. p. 274. r. *his Spleen*. p. 275. l. 6. r. *Propensity*. p. 277. l. 5. r. *against him*. p. 279. r. *Turnebus*. p. 282. f. *had*, r. *might have*. p. 301. f. *fifty*, r. *fifteen*. p. 303. *Marg*. r. *que ne in malis*. p. 330. *Marg*. f. *lib*. r. *Liv*. *In the Comp. of* Plato *and* Aristotle. f. *Aulugella*, r. *A. Gellius*. p. 359. *of Loyalty*, r. *Royalty*. p. 370. f. *at it's*, r. *at his*. p. 389. r. *Book of Interpretation*. p. 390. r. *for the Ideas of things are only*. p. 392. dele *of Air*. p. 394. l. 8. r. *Medal*. 408. f. *Bestiality*, r. *meanness*. p. 414. l. *penult*. r. *a Foot-ball that weigh's more when it is blown*. p. 430. *l*. 10. r. *drew npon it*. p. 447. r. Austin; p. 452. r. Damascius. p. 454. r. Heraclius. p. 477. l. *antepenult* r. 400. p. 487. l. 21. r. *brought up*. p. 496. r. *Morality*.

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A COMPARISON OF *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*.

CHAP. I.

An Encomium upon Demoſthenes *and* Cicero, *in order to give us an Idea of their Reſpective Merits.*

THE Merit of *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero* is ſo tranſcendent, that none can underſtand it, or value it in Proportion to its Extent, but thoſe that are furniſh'd with equal Qualifications, and renown'd for equal Worth. The Underſtanding and Knowledge of things, which young Proficients in Learning acquire by their firſt Studies, is too much limited and circumſcrib'd, to render them capable of judging between theſe two Authors, or of eſtimating their Works according to their true Intrinſick Value. In order to this there is required, not only a competent ſhare of Natural Abilities, but a good ſtock of ſound and ſolid Senſe;

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the Effect of Time and Age, together with an unprejudic'd and uncorrupted Judgment, gain'd and improv'd by being well vers'd in Ancient Writers. Tho' I can, my self, make no Pretence to any of these Qualifications, yet, if I here make some Observations upon what is most remarkable in these two Orators, I hope my Endeavours of this Nature will not prove altogether Useless and Ineffectual to others, in order to their attaining to such necessary Accomplishments. This was the only Motive that induc'd me to publish my Reflections upon this Subject; and I must confess, that, upon a Survey of what I had writ, I was more persuaded than before, that these two Incomparable Genio's, like other miraculous Productions of Nature, were never seen in the World but once; and that, as it is difficult to comprehend their Excellencies, 'tis still much more so to describe them.

It is acknowledged on all hands, that never did Eloquence form two greater Orators, nor Policy raise two more accomplish'd States-Men. But it is not easy to determine, by which of these two noble means they acquir'd most Glory; whether by their great Actions, or by their Eloquence: For besides their great Abilities and most consummate Capacities; besides their profound Insight and most perfect Views, their refin'd Understandings gave them into all manner of Business; they had the Art of maintaining and enforcing, in their Publick Assemblies, all those wise Resolutions, of which they themselves had given the first Overtures; and of persuading their Audience to whatever they pleas'd.

It were superfluous in this Place to speak of all the Harangues, Negociations, Embassies, Treaties

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Treaties of War and Peace, Secret and Publick Intelligences, and of all the Expeditions of *Demosthenes*; as well as of the Superintendences, Provincial Governments, Military Commands, and of that Sovereign Power *Cicero* enjoy'd, in the most flourishing State in the World; when there are still behind, far greater things than these to be said in honour of them. For there is none that can be ignorant of the good Fortune they both had of numbering Kings in the List of their Clients, of giving their Protection to Crown'd Heads, and of ruling the Destiny of all that was then great in the World. The Eloquence of *Demosthenes* was the best Security, and the surest Defence of *Greece*, and the greatest Bulwark of *Persia*, against the Designs of the *Macedonian* Kings; and that of *Cicero*, in destroying *Catiline*, prevented the Ruin of *Rome*, which otherwise it cou'd neither have avoided, nor repair'd. It rais'd Young *Octavius* to the Consulship, at a time, when the Aversion against the Usurpation of his Predecessor so universally prevail'd amongst all sorts of People, that he dar'd not so much as entertain the least Thought of it, especially at the Age he was then of, had not *Cicero* encourag'd him to put in his Pretensions to that Honour, with a Promise of his Assistance: and 'twas this great Orator alone that gave that mighty Turn of Affairs, by those Harangues he made to the People against *Mark Antony*.

The Abilities of these two Orators were so great, that all the Learned Men of Antiquity have ever look'd upon them as Prodigies. And truly, if any one will but take the pains to dive deep, and search far into their Works, he will find such a vast Extent of Knowledge,

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that it is hard to conceive how it was possible for them, who spent almost their whole Lives in Publick Employments, to have any Reserve of time for Contemplation. For never certainly did any two Men engage in so many Important Enterprizes, transact so much of State Affairs, and dispatch so much of the Publick Business, and yet have Opportunity to make themselves Masters of all that Knowledge that is acquir'd by Study and Meditation.

CHAP. II.

Learned Men have not presum'd to determine, to which of these two great Orators, the Preference ought to be given.

NOthing can give us a nobler Idea of their Merit, than the Difficulty all Men that have had any Knowledge of Letters, or any taste of Eloquence, have ever found in deciding, to which the Precedence is to be given.

Their declining thus to pass their Judgment in this Case, is a great Instance of the Respect every one bore them; a Decision of this Nature being look'd upon as either too difficult, or too bold an Attempt: And the truth is, not to mention a great many Learned Men that have been famous in these latter Times, I find that *Plutarch*, *Quintilian*, and *Longinus*, who are the three great Authors of Antiquity, that have with the most exact care examin'd into, that have best understood, and have pass'd the truest

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trueſt Judgment upon *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, are very reſerv'd in this Matter, and have not preſum'd to declare themſelves on either ſide. I ſhall ſay nothing of that *Sicilian*, call'd *Cicilius*, who, as *Suidas* tells us, was the firſt that compar'd them together, becauſe his Works are loſt.

Longinus, in his Treatiſe of Sublime, having compar'd the Eloquence of *Demoſthenes* to Thunder, which over-turns all things, and that of *Cicero* to a great Fire, which devours and conſumes all, that he might not be oblig'd to give his own Judgment of them, refers us to *Terentianus*, who is not ſo clear, as to this Point, as he himſelf is. Long. *cap.* 21.

Quintilian, where he makes a Compariſon of the Qualities and Accompliſhments of theſe two Orators, profeſſes that he does not pretend to determine, to which the Preference is to be given; but declines it as too great a Preſumption, and what would engage him too far in the Diſpute, ſhould he declare his Opinion. *Non ignoro quantam mihi concitem pugnam: cum id non ſit propoſiti ut Ciceronem Demoſtheni comparem.* Lib. 10, c. 1.

Plutarch, the moſt Judicious and Learned of all the Criticks, having given us the Portraitures of theſe two Orators, and put their Fancy, Humour, Tempers, and even their Adventures together in a Balance, dares not make it incline either way, acknowledging himſelf not well enough vers'd in the *Latin* Tongue, to be able to judge between them.

We may, conſidering that *Plutarch* had been Tutor to *Trajan*, and writ in the time of *Adrian*, and that the *Greeks* were a People that never us'd to praiſe any Nation but their own, impute this his Reſervedneſs, to an Exceſs of good Breeding, or rather to a Politick Deſign of ingratiating himſelf with the *Romans*. And

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indeed one may wonder, that he did not take that Advantage in Favour of *Demosthenes*, which might have been allow'd the Orator from that Series of Time his Reputation had been establish'd, before ever *Cicero* begun to flourish, which was at least three hundred Years. For Reputation, like Nobility, the more ancient it is, is always the more valuable.

But not to depend upon false Conjectures, I think it more proper to sit down contented with this, as the most probable Reason of these three Criticks, who are number'd amongst the most Judicious, not determining any thing in this Controversy, *viz.* the Difficulty of resolving which side to take, when both are so eminently deserving. For a great Search and Penetration into Matters, which in all other Cases is indispensably necessary to qualifie us to judge well of Things, is here a Hindrance; and the farther we see into them, and the more we know of them, the more difficult it is to pronounce which best deserves the Prize. For this cannot be determin'd, unless there be some apparent Disparity, which it is as hard to discover, as it is to compare their Wit and Eloquence, there being no certain Rule whereby to measure them. However, that we may draw some sort of Comparison between them, we must fix upon some Principle; according to which, we may proceed in our Examination of these two great Persons, who have hitherto pass'd for the truest Standards of Eloquence.

CHAP.

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CHAP. III.

The eſtabliſhing a Rule, by which the Compariſon may be made.

IN order to eſtabliſh a Rule, upon which we may found a certain Judgment, in Relation to theſe two great Men, we are to enquire into the Nature of Eloquence, and conſider what it properly is. And it being an Art that does entirely exiſt in the Internal Faculties of the Soul, the Ideas and Conceptions of it have been multiplied according to the different Genius of thoſe that have applied themſelves to it. And from hence it is, that every Age has form'd to itſelf a Character of Eloquence, agreeable to the Humour then prevalent. The Eloquence of *Protagoras*, whom *Plato* calls the Father of the Sophiſts, was altogether ſuperficial, and conſiſted only in Words; whereas that of *Pericles* and *Lycias*, conſiſted in Things. The Eloquence of *Craſſus* and *Antonius*, of *Cotta* and *Sulpitius*, of which *Cicero* has left us ſuch beautiful Characters in his Books *De Oratore*, is very different from that of thoſe Declaimers, the Fragments of whoſe Works we meet with in *Seneca*'s Controverſies. I ſhall ſay nothing of the various kinds of Eloquence, which we find in the Works of *Pliny* the Younger, *Caſſiodorus*, *Symmachus*, *Pacatus*, *Mamertinus*, *Ennodius*, and many others, whoſe Genius ſeem'd to attend the Fate of the then declining Empire. This is a Survey that wou'd be endleſs, and admit of infinite Labour. So that conſidering in how many ſeveral Shapes Eloquence

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has appear'd, and how many Revolutions it has undergone, in almost every Age; it seems to me, to be of the Number of those things, which being too general, and appearing under too many Forms, cannot be particularly defin'd, so that we can have no certain account of their State and Condition.

But, however, it will be sufficient for our Purpose, if under so changeable an Out-side, and so many different Appearances, it has preserv'd, unalter'd, that most Essential Part belonging to it, the Art of Persuasion. For all Authors, both Ancient and Modern, that treat on this Subject, do agree, that Persuasion is the Design and End of Eloquence; but are not resolv'd upon the Means that must be used towards the attainment of this End, they Varying according to the several Methods Men have Invented to touch the Passions. But this is what we must endeavour to be certain of, that we may not mistake in our Comparison.

The End of Eloquence, then being to Persuade, and of Rhetorick to find out Means how to Persuade; the one furnishes us with Materials and the other sets them at work. But, what is it to Persuade? *Quintilian* makes his *Apollodorus* say, that to Persuade, is to make our selves Masters of the Soul of our Auditor, and to lead him as it were in Triumph whereso'ever we please. This latter part of the Definition, as Figurative as it is, is very Natural; for Persuasion is a kind of bringing into Subjection the Soul of Man; it is a Victory, a Conquest over his Thoughts, and Sentiments, a leading his Will Captive, a Mastery obtain'd over his Passions, and a Despoiling him of what he holds most dear, his Liberty. What can we imagine, or conceive greater

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or more Absolute than this? How inconsiderable is all other Power and Authority, in comparison with this of Persuasion; whose Empire extends itself over the very Hearts of Men? It was for this Reason, without doubt, that *Xenophon* makes *Socrates* say, that *Persuasion is more powerful than even Violence itself.*

It is no wonder then, considering the Natural Inclination all Men have to Govern, that an Art, which so much enlarges our Empire, has had so many Masters to Teach it, and so many Scholars to Learn it. All Books are full of Precepts about this Ambitious Science; neither was there ever so much writ upon any other Art or Science in the World, as upon this one of Persuasion. And that I may not engage my self in a tedious Search after all those that have treated on this Subject, I shall confine my self entirely to six of the *Greeks*, and to two amongst the *Romans*, who have been Celebrated, beyond all others, for their Rules of Oratory, and from whom all that have writ since, have Copied. The *Greeks*, that have treated on this Subject, are *Plato*, in several parts of his Works; *Aristotle*, in his Books of *Rhetorick*; *Demetrius Phalereus*, in his Treatise of *Elocution*; *Hermogenes*, in his *Inventions*, and in his *Idea's*; *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, in his *Art*, and in his Construction of *Words*; and *Longinus*, in his Treatise of *Sublime*. The *Romans* are *Cicero*, in his Books *De Oratore*; and *Quintilian*, in his *Institutions*. But because *Aristotle*, of all the rest, seems to me, to have best Establish'd things, and to have drawn the most regular and exact Plan, I shall adhere to him, and stick by his Judgment in those Reflections I shall make upon this Universal Art; the Foundation and Principles of which I am now searching into. *Lib.* 1. ἀπομν.

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I cannot but own, that *Plato* is always great in his Designs, Sublime and Elevated in his manner of Writing, and admirable in his Order and Method, and in the Execution of whatever he Proposes. He is not so Chimerical, as some of *Aristotle's* Followers of late would endeavour to persuade us. He does indeed Form vastly greater Projects in all Arts and Sciences, than any of those that have writ after him; and his Elevated Thoughts give us reason to believe, that he had a more than ordinary Correspondence with the *Egyptians*. For 'tis from them, who were the first Men of Learning in the World, that we derive those great Idea's of the Sciences we have since Entertain'd: And as their Apprehensions of things were more Conformable to the Simplicity of Nature, as not yet Corrupted by a multitude of different Opinions, nor Biass'd by the Partiality of particular Sects; so was their Insight more clear and pure, their Notions less Abstracted, and their Views less Circumscrib'd.

Socrates, whom he makes his Wise Man, and his Universal Model and Example in the Sciences, and from whose Mouth he delivers his Precepts to the World, does very well express what he would give us an Idea of; and this Insinuating way, which he makes his Essential Character, is very fine and delicate. But while he endeavours to make him Natural, Easy and Complaisant, by the most obliging and engaging Questions, he Represents him as doubting of the very things he pretends to Teach. Not but that he gives a pleasant Turn to all he says, and leads as he pleases, the Minds of those he speaks to; yet, notwithstanding all this, whoever Reads his Works, is

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is often forc'd to make Concluſions of his own, becauſe this Philoſopher is too irreſolute himſelf. We may derive greater Advantages from *Ariſtotle*, who is more Inſtructive, more to be Relied on, and that Deviates leſs from his Purpoſe. *Socrates*, his Method of beginning with Commendations of that he intends to find fault with in the end, would be proper indeed, in a Negotiation, where one ſubtle Politician deſigns to over-reach the other; but that of *Ariſtotle* being more ſimple, is more ſuitable for the Schools: For thoſe that would Inſtruct, muſt be Poſitive in their Aſſertions.

I ſhall not here ſtand to give you the Characters of thoſe four other *Greek* Authors, who have writ upon Eloquence; tho' I cannot but acknowledge, that *Demetrius* is an Author that paſſes as nice a Judgment upon things as any of the Ancients; that *Hermogenes* ſeems one of the moſt Exact and Methodical, *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, one of the moſt Learned, and *Longinus*, one of the moſt Judicious. But being Elocution is the Bound, which they pretend not to go beyond, and in relation to which, *Demetrius* touches only upon the Delicacies, *Hermogenes* upon the different Characters, *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* upon the Ornaments and Graceful Harmony, and *Longinus* upon the Majeſty: None of them have been particular in defining the Nature of that Perſuaſion we are now ſearching into. *Cicero* and *Quintilian* have, 'tis true, made ſome Progreſs in this Matter; but becauſe they treat of it in the ſame Method with *Ariſtotle*, and have indeed, only explain'd his Meaning, I ſhall have recourſe to him alone, in the diſcovery of thoſe Eſſentials which are the Foundations of Perſuaſion; this being the Rule I intend to Obſerve, in order

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order to pass a Judgment upon the Eloquence of *Cicero*, and rightly to distinguish it from that of *Demosthenes*.

Τῶν δὲ διὰ τοῦ λόγου περιγιγνομένων πιστέων τρία ἐστί, ἐν τῇ ἤθει τοῦ λέγοντος, ἐν τῇ ἀκροάτην διαθεῖναι πῶς, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ.

We Persuade, says *Aristotle*, by the Credit we gain in Mens Minds. There are three things that concur towards the obtaining of this Credit, and which are, as it were, the Spring, from whence Persuasion flows. These three things are the Merit of him that speaks, the favourable Disposition of those he speaks to, and the Manner of Speaking. And being the whole Art of Rhetorick is reducible to these three Heads, it will not be impossible from thence to draw a Scheme, by which we may, in some Method, form our Judgment of these two Orators.

To begin then with their Personal Merit, we will endeavour to dive into the depth of their Capacities; for all Personal Worth, that consists, either in our Abilities or Manners, springs from hence. And nothing being more conducing to Persuade, than the good Opinion we raise in the Audience of our Abilities and Integrity, we will see how large a share of these, *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* were in Possession of, and what Impressions they were capable of making upon the Minds of Men, by the Force and Energy of them: And, first of their Abilities.

CHAP.

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CHAP. IV.

A Compariſon of the Abilities of theſe two Authors.

Demoſthenes, having loſt his Father when he was young, fell into the Hands of Guardians, that too much conſulted their own Intereſt; who partly through Negligence, and partly through Covetouſneſs, took not that Care of his Education which they ought. So that he Learned ſcarce any of thoſe things, which it is the buſineſs of Parents, generally to fix in the Minds of Children, when they firſt begin to enter upon a courſe of Study. His Mother too, gave Encouragement to this Neglect, by her too great Fondneſs of him. 'Tis true indeed, he was of ſo tender a Conſtitution, and enjoy'd ſuch an ill ſtate of Health, that he could not follow his Studies with much Application. As ſoon as he was Sixteen Years of Age, which is the proper time for Learning of Rhetorick; inſtead of being ſent to the School of *Iſocrates*, who was then in moſt Eſteem, he was plac'd with the Orator *Iſæus*; becauſe, as his Reputation was leſs than that of others, ſo were his Demands; and it was there he contracted thoſe ill Habits, which he himſelf tells us, he afterwards broke himſelf of, with great difficulty.

Cicero had the Advantage of being incomparably better Educated than *Demoſthenes*. His Parents, having diſcover'd in him a Natural Inclination to Study, took extraordinary Care of him. But tho' at thoſe early Years, when other Children are not capable of applying themſelves to any thing,

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thing, he shew'd an extream Desire to learn, yet his Father thought it most adviseable to keep him back, rather than to push him on; at which *Cicero* seem'd not a little dissatisfied and impatient, especially when he saw some of his Companions study under one *Plotius*, a Master then in repute. His Father however was much to be commended for this Restraint; well knowing, that too early an Application to Study, by endeavouring to ripen the Understanding before the Season, may weaken Nature, but will never bring her to Perfection. And I find that these two great Persons, who attain'd to these Accomplishments, for which they are celebrated all the World over; began their Studies late.

Observatum semper fere est celeriùs occidere festinatam maturitatem. Fab. Præm. *l.* 6.

Cicero's Father and best Friends were of Opinion, that the *Greek* Tongue was the fittest for a young Man to begin with, and therefore made him enter first upon the Study of that. All the great Men that came to *Rome*, between the time of *M. Scævola*'s Consulship, and the end of *Sylla*'s Dictatorship, were his Masters. As that *Phedrus* he commends so much in his Epistles, and that *Philo* the Academick, and Scholar of *Clitomachus*, whom he mentions in his Book, *De Naturâ Deorum*. As *Molo* the *Rhodian*, whose Eloquence was very celebrated, and under whom he studied at two different Times; and a certain *Sicilian*, call'd *Diodotus*, a great Geometrician, of whom he learn'd Logick, and whom he speaks of in his *Tusculan Questions*. Thus, at the Age of Seventeen or Eighteen Years, he had run through, with incredible Expedition, the almost Infinite Extent of all the Sciences, which might be any way useful to him, in making himself Master of Eloquence, which he so passionately affected. As

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As ſoon as he had conquer'd the Difficulties of the *Greek* Tongue, he apply'd himſelf to Poetry, to which he had an early and ſtrong Inclination. At ſixteen Years of Age, he writ the Poem of *Glaucus Pontius*, in Imitation of *Eſchylus*: and the Year following, that he might the better underſtand Geometry, he tranſlated the Poem of *Aratus*, of which we have ſome conſiderable Fragments ſtill left. He tranſlated likewiſe, not long after, *Plato's Timæus* and his *Protagoras*, the Oeconomicks of *Xenophon*, and ſeveral other Pieces. *Plutarch* tells us, that from his very firſt Years, he diſcover'd a Genius peculiar for all the Sciences, ſuch as *Plato* requires in the Philoſopher, he forms an Idea of, who ought to be, ſays he, *a Lover of all kind of Knowledge*. 'Twas after this manner that *Cicero* ſpent his time, till he was twenty ſix Years of Age, at which Period he began to ſpeak in Publick.

But as on this ſide, *Cicero* made ſo happy a Uſe of his Natural Parts, and ſuch a conſiderable Advantage of the care his Friends took of him, as to want nothing that might any ways contribute to his Improvement; ſo on the other, *Demoſthenes* found no ſmall Oppoſition to that Thirſt of Glory his Ambition had excited in him. For beſides the barbarous Uſage he met with from his Guardians, who were ſo baſe and ſordid, as not to be the leaſt concern'd at his loſing his time, in hopes that by that means he wou'd ſtill remain in obſcurity, as it is generally the Lot of the Ignorant to do, and ſo probably not be in a Capacity to bring them to an Account when he came to be of Age; beſides, I ſay, theſe Diſadvantages which he lay under, he met with ſtill greater Obſtructions to his ardent Deſires of becoming a Maſter of Elo-

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Eloquence, both from the inward Faculties of his Soul, and the outward Imperfections of his Body. But what Nature did for *Cicero*, an eager Desire perform'd in behalf of *Demosthenes*; which was so violent, that he found nothing impossible or disproportion'd to its Force. So that it was nothing but Ambition that form'd him, and made him conquer the vicious Inclinations of an Age, that had a Relish of nothing but Pleasure, and that too in a City where all manner of Wickedness was Authoriz'd by the ill Example of a People, wholly given to Luxury and Debauchery. And this made him prefer the Conversation of *Theophrastus* and *Xenocrates*, and of the *Platonists*, before that of *Phryne*, in whose House there was a general Rendezvous of all that was notoriously Infamous in *Athens*.

Nay, he wou'd impose upon himself a necessity of retiring for some time from the Conversation of the World: which he did by a very odd Expedient; which was to shave half his Head, that upon the Account of the Shame of that Deformity, he might be oblig'd to hide himself for some Months. One may in a Manner say of him, that he was content to be buried alive; or at least, that he wou'd not live for any other end, but to apply himself to the Study of Eloquence, to which he had devoted all his Thoughts. He was about sixteen Years old when he began to study it, and this Passion was first rais'd in him, upon the extraordinary Applause he observ'd given to *Callistratus*, for some Cause he had pleaded; with which *Demosthenes* was so taken, that he laid aside all his other Studies, in order to apply himself wholly to that of Eloquence.

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This Retirement, and all the other Hardships he underwent, which *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, *Quintilian*, *Libanius*, *Lucian*, *Photius*, and many others mention so much to his Honour, are evident Tokens and remarkable Instances, of the Violence of his Inclinations. And indeed, what wou'd he not do to gratifie his Passion? Can any thing be conceiv'd more unaccountable than to go, as he did, and declaim upon the Sea-shore, that by hearing the Roaring of the Waves, he might accustom himself so as not to be disturb'd at the Commotions of the People, and the Noise and Tumult of Assemblies? What is there more painful than to speak as he did with Vehemence? climbing up to the top of steep and craggy Places, that he might thereby strengthen his Voice? His Tongue was so unweildy that he cou'd not pronounce certain Letters without much difficulty; to correct which Defect, he us'd to declaim with his Mouth full of Pebble-stones. He also practis'd speaking to a Looking-Glass, that he might thereby acquire a graceful Air, easie and natural; and he had often recourse to a celebrated Comedian of those times to learn of him how to Pronounce well, and make himself Master of all the Exterior Ornaments and Graces of Action. And it was by these Fatigues, and by this unwearied Perseverance, that he came at last to surmount all those Impediments in his Speech, and all those other Imperfections, which so much disgusted the *Athenians*, the first time he spoke in Publick.

Cui non audita Demosthenis *Vigilia?* Cic. Tusc. 4.

'Tis no wonder then that *Cicero*, who met with none of these Obstructions, enlarg'd his Knowledge to a far wider extent than *Demosthenes*; who being naturally very eager and ambitious, and finding Eloquence the only way

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to become Great, employ'd all his Study in the Acquisition of it. So that at the Age of Eighteen, he began to plead against his Guardians *Aphobus* and *Onetor*, to constrain them by Law to give an Account of his Estate. Whereas *Cicero*, letting himself loose in a full Carriere in the Universal Pursuit of all the Sciences, ran through them with an indefatigable Application, and so fill'd his Mind with all kind of Knowledge, that cou'd either perfect or adorn his Art.

He fail'd not however at nineteen Years old to be very constant in hearing the Orations *P. Sulpitius* made that Year he was Tribune, that, by the Imitation of so great a Master, he might perfect himself in the Practice of Eloquence; for he was the Man, who at that time had the greatest Reputation in all *Rome* for his Eloquence. But *Cicero* began not to speak in publick, till he was seven and twenty Years old, which he did in so remarkable a Manner, as drew the Eyes of the whole Commonwealth upon him. All the most celebrated Lawyers, fearing to offend *Sylla*, had refus'd to undertake *Roscius* his Case, who was accus'd of Parricide; when *Cicero* alone, with a becoming Confidence, engag'd in his defence against the Dictator's Favourite. The Success of this Action, was the first step to his future Glory; but it made too much noise, not to be look'd upon by *Sylla* with a jealous Eye, and by *Chrysogonus* with meditated Revenge. For this Freeman, who had made himself Master of him that was Master of the Commonwealth, brought upon *Cicero*, by the ill Offices he did him, a Persecution, which ended not till the Dictator's Death.

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So being forc'd to leave *Rome*, to avoid the Storm, he saw ready to break upon him, he artfully spread abroad a Rumour, that he did it upon the Advice of his Physician, who told him, that 'twould be much for his Health, to interrupt his Studies, and Travel for some time. He made use of this pretence for his Retreat, lest he shou'd seem to betray any signs of Fear and Inconstancy, which might possibly diminish the Glory of his last Action, and take off from the good Opinion all Men had conceiv'd of him upon that Account. Thus he staid for some time at *Athens*, where finding himself free and disengag'd from all other Business, he made himself acquainted with the different Opinions of the several Sects of Philosophers, that were at that time Famous. Here he applied himself again to the Study of Eloquence, that he might recover his former Notions of it, and receiv'd new Instructions in that Art from a certain *Syrian* Orator, nam'd *Demetrius*. This Ardent Desire after Knowledge, put him, in a little while after, upon Travelling through all *Asia*, to be there instructed by the most Famous Men in every Science; amongst whom was *Menippus* of *Caria*, the best Orator of his time, *Æschylus* of *Cnydia*, *Dionysius* of *Magnesia*, *Xenocles*, *Possidonius* and some others. And, as Eloquence was his chiefest Aim, so wou'd he often exercise himself therein with these Men upon proper Subjects; and by this means he improved more and made a greater Advance in the Study of Eloquence by his Travels, than he cou'd have done at *Rome* in his Closet.

About the same time, he met with *Apollonius Molo* in *Rhodes*, who had formerly been his Master in *Italy*. This Orator having heard

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Cicero declaim in *Greek*, spoke that admirable Sentence to him, which we find Recorded in *Plutarch*: *Go* Cicero, *and ravish from us* Greeks *the only thing that was left us to Glory in, our Wit and our Eloquence, and transfer it to the* Romans.

Plut. in Cic.

He learnt, in this Voyage, Astronomy, Geometry, the Old and New Philosophy, the Theology of the Heathen Religion, the Customs of *Athens*, and all the Laws of *Greece*. *Diodotus* taught him the Mystery of *Pythagoras* his Numbers, and his Harmony. He Studied the Morality of the *Stoicks*, under *Philo* and *Clitomachus*. *Antiochus*, who, in Defiance to *Carneades*, oppos'd the New Academicks, instructed him in the Opinions of the Ancients, and *Zeno*, and *Phedrus* taught him those of *Epicurus*, which he has since so much condemn'd in his Writings. And at last, after the Death of *Sylla*, he return'd to *Rome* with a Mind enrich'd with all sorts of Knowledge, and a Body restor'd to perfect Health, by the Exercise he had us'd in Travelling.

His Friend *Pomponius Atticus*, and the other Learned Men of that Age, with whom he kept a continual Correspondence, were no little Helps to him in the Acquisition of all these Sciences. 'Tis hard indeed to conceive how one Man shou'd understand so many Sciences, especially in such Perfection as he did every one of them. But as Eloquence was that for which he had most Inclination, so did he apply himself to it with greater Care and Industry than to any other Art or Science; and neglected not the least thing that might any way contribute towards his making himself Master of it, and above all, he took a particular care to Form and Modulate his Voice, to compose the

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the Air of his Face, and to order his Actions and Gestures as was most becoming. And to this End he frequently consulted *Roscius*, the most accomplish'd Comedian that ever was, that from him he might learn that admirable Art of Pronunciation, which many times stamps a Value upon the most ordinary things, and which is the very Life and Soul of all Publick Harangues.

It was in this manner, that this great Soul arriv'd at this Universal Knowledge; whereas *Demosthenes*, whose Desires were not so vast, applied himself wholly to the reading of *Thucydides*, whom he made almost his entire Study, that so he might make himself Master of the Stile, and way of Writing of that Historian. And truly, I do not in the least wonder that *Demosthenes* chose him for his Imitation, when it cannot but be acknowledg'd on all Hands, that we have nothing left us in the whole World that is so accomplish'd a Piece as the History of that Author. Not but that *Herodotus*, who writ before him, is more pleasant and diverting, by reason of the great Variety of the things he Treats of, and his graceful way of Expressing himself, and the fine Turn he gives every thing. For, not confining himself strictly to the Truth, it was easier for him to affect and please his Reader; whereas *Thucydides*, on the contrary, cou'd not Insert any thing that was in the least Opposite to it, always holding it as an inviolable Rule, which an Historian shou'd not upon any account recede from, never to relate any thing but what is confirm'd matter of Fact. However *Thucydides*, though his Design be only to intruct us, is not the less diverting on that Account; his Narrations are plain and close, but yet clear and natural

Rerum gestarum prænunciator sincerus Thucydides *grandis etiam fuit.* Cic. in Brut.

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tural too; and this Plainness has something in it that is Noble, which always keeps up its Character by the Beauty of the Expression. It was upon this Model then that *Demosthenes* Form'd himself, and that he might the more exactly frame his Stile in Imitation of this Great Historian; he writ his History over eight times with his own Hand. Yet one may easily perceive, by the several different ways he takes in composing his Orations, that he had likewise search'd into other Men's Works, and that he had heard *Plato*, with whom no body cou'd Converse without becoming Wise. Nor is the Opinion of *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, and *Lucian*, altogether groundless, who tell us, that by the means of a *Learn'd Syracusian*, nam'd *Callias*, *Demosthenes* had some secret Communication with the Rhetorical Books of *Isocrates*, and *Aleidamas*, whom *Plutarch* so highly Esteems.

Curæ plus in illo, in hoc Naturæ. Fab. l. 10. c. 1.

But, however it may be determin'd in this Point, it is yet agreed on by all Hands, that *Cicero* had a Happier Genius, and all the Advantages of Nature in a larger share than *Demosthenes*; that he spent more time in the Universal Study of the Sciences, in reading *Plato* and *Aristotle*, and all that wrote after them, that had any thing relating to Eloquence, and in conversing with the most Celebrated Men of his Time, whom he met with in his Travels. So that having greater Advantages of Learning, and better Opportunities of acquainting himself with the Knowledge of things than *Demosthenes* had, his Abilities were doubtless greater. This Capacity is the first Part of that Personal Merit, which, as we before observ'd, is so essentially necessary to Perswasion. For the more Understanding a Man has, the more are we inclin'd to believe him; and we are generally dispos'd to give

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our Assent, according to the Degrees of Knowledge we observe in the Person that wou'd perswade us.

CHAP. V.

Of the Second Quality requisite to Perswasion, which is Integrity.

THE Second Part of Personal Merit is Integrity, the Power of which, in Perswading, is far greater than that of the former. For being those that suffer themselves to be perswaded by another, submit themselves entirely to him that perswades, they will certainly do it more readily to one of known Integrity, than to one of suspected Credit. The most Sceptical that are, have a deference for such; and the good Opinion we have of a Man, inclines us to credit him, and to be guided by him, every one thinking it a piece of Virtue to be of the same Judgment with a Virtuous Person; which gave occasion to that excellent Saying of *Aristotle*, *Amongst all those things that are capable of making a Man to be believ'd, there is none has so much Power as the Honesty and Integrity of the Speaker.* Μακεδόνων χρυσίῳ ἀνάλαιτος,

These two Orators had gain'd the Reputation of being sincere honest Men in so high a Degree, by their wise Conduct, that the People had a perfect Belief of whatever they said. Their Advice was hearken'd to as the most profitable; they were look'd upon as the Publick Oracles, and Tutelar Gods of their Coun-

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try; and that because every one was entirely satisfied that nothing ever proceeded out of their Mouth, but what was in Confirmation of the Authority of the Laws, and for the Service and Advantage of the State. The Truth is, they were both Persons of much Honour and Integrity; and the frequent Mention they made of the Gods in their Orations gain'd them the Esteem of Pious and Religious Men, which has a mighty Influence over the Minds of the People, because Piety is the Rule and Measure of all other Virtues.

And besides this, they prescrib'd to themselves the Practices of such a Popular Morality, the Principles of which refer'd wholly to the Publick Good: And because they profess'd to aim at nothing but what was in order to promote the Glory and Interest of their Country, they always found the Minds of the People ready dispos'd to give them a favourable Attention. The general Esteem they had gain'd, gave them that Air of Authority with which they spoke. This is what may be said of their Reputation, in general; I shall now proceed to speak of what share each of them had in particular.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Integrity of Demosthenes.

Demosthenes was naturally inclin'd to Justice, which he supported and maintain'd by the Study of an exact Morality, and by the Assistance of a Temper inclin'd to Severity.

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So that he cou'd not, in the management of his Affairs, make uſe of thoſe indirect ways, which the greateſt Politicians commonly Practiſe. Juſtice and Equity, Honour and the Publick Good, were always the Conſiderations that ſway'd moſt with him in all his Proceedings, they were the firſt Principles of his Conduct. The Philoſopher *Panetius* aſſures us, that in his Deliberations, his common Maxim was, *That all other Intereſts ought to yield when they come in Competition with Honeſty.* This Morality appears in all parts of his Works; but more eſpecially in his *Philippicks* and *Olinthiacks*, in his Oration about Privileges, in that for *Ariſtocrates*, and in that for the Crown; and if this laſt Oration of his be well examin'd into, we ſhall find that his Zeal for the Publick Good, his ſubmiſſive Reſignation to the Will and Determination of the People, and his devoting himſelf entirely to the Service of the State, are what compoſe the whole Art of that Oration; which may juſtly be call'd the moſt finiſh'd of any in Antiquity, and which *Cicero* Stiles the Rule of Eloquence. In a word, he neglected nothing that might acquire him the Reputation of a good Man; in which he ſucceeded by the frequent Characters he made in his Orations of a good Citizen, by thoſe repeated Images of a true Patriot, which he drew, and preſented to the View of the People in ſeveral of his Harangues, as particularly in his Third *Olinthiack.* For in Publick Actions, the ſeverer all Diſcourſes of Morality are, the better are they receiv'd; and in my Opinion, an Orator has not a more Advantageous Sway of recommending himſelf, or of meriting Approbation than by making a ſtrict and ſevere Profeſſion of Vertue.

Plut. in Demoſthene.

Regulæ ad quam Eorum dirigantur Orationes, qui Attice volunt dicere. De op. gen. Orat.

But

But nothing did ever more contribute to the Credit of *Demosthenes*, than the Liberty he took of declaiming against *Philip*. And what cou'd be more glorious for a mean Citizen of *Athens*, than the undaunted Courage he show'd in declaring himself against a King, already so powerful in the State, as to be in possession of the Hearts of the far greater Part of his Subjects. The Authority, Armies, Threats and Promises of that Prince cou'd never work upon him, and, to use the Expression of *Plutarch*, *All the Gold of* Macedonia *cou'd not Bribe him.* He was Deaf to all the Prosers that were made him, which made *Antipater*, one of *Alexander*'s Successors say, *that had any one of his Ministers been as uncorrupt as* Demosthenes, *he had been invincible.* That which this Prince adds, gives us still a greater Idea of the Virtue of this Orator; *It was the Love of his Country, that prevail'd upon him to undertake the Government; for he made that the Employment of his Virtue, which others had engag'd in to serve their Interest. Such a Man as this, says he, wou'd be very necessary for me, to Advise with in my present Affairs, to hear him, who wou'd speak his Mind frankly and freely, amidst the feign'd Applauses of Flatterers. Such a sincere and faithful Counsellour it is I seem to want, to direct me amidst all these Court-Dissimulations.*

Luc. in Demost.

This Prince, who inherited nothing that belong'd to his Predecessor *Alexander*, but his boundless Ambition, believ'd that he should soon have made himself Master of the World, had he but such a faithful Minister as *Demosthenes*; because, *he was one that could not be corrupted, over-reach'd* or *surpriz'd.* But *Demosthenes*, through a Greatness of Soul not to be parallel'd, without Deliberation, prefer'd even Death it self to all *Antipater*'s Favours, and as he

Luc. ibid.

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he was drinking the Poison in the presence of *Archias*, who was urging him to yield himself up into the Hands of the Conqueror of all *Greece*; Go, says he, *and let thy Master know that* Demosthenes *will not, upon any account, be beholding to the Usurper of his Country.* Such was the Probity and Integrity of this great Man, who was a most remarkable Instance of Pagan Virtue, as appears from the Commendation *Lucian* has given of him.

CHAP. VII.

The Integrity of Cicero.

THE Integrity of *Cicero*, was not less valued at *Rome*, than that of *Demosthenes* was at *Athens*. And to this Reputation of his it is, that we may attribute the most remarkable Passages of his Life. For it is certain, his Eloquence alone, with all its Power, had never gain'd him the Voices of the People to make him Consul, had it not been for the good Opinion every one had of his Integrity. But as this rais'd him to Honour, so likewise expos'd him to the Jealousy of his Enemies. *Clodius* was the first, who could not endure the Splendor of his Virtue, and made his great Reputation an Instrument wherewith to destroy him. For seeing him so zealous for the Publick Good, he look'd upon him as a main Obstacle to his wicked Designs; and therefore as soon as ever he was created Tribune, he made use of all the Authority and Power of his Office, to get him banish'd *Rome*. He spar'd no Violence to procure his Remove, whom

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whom he fear'd as a severe Censurer of his Actions.

One need only read *Cicero*'s Epistles, which he writ to his Brother, and to his Friends, to discover the Sincerity of his Thoughts, the disinterested Integrity of his Heart, the Purity of his Morals, and his unfeign'd Zeal for the Glory of his Country. What Resolution did he show in opposing the young Nobility of *Rome*, whom the Ambition and Debaucheries of *Cataline* had engag'd in his Conspiracy. Those that accuse *Cicero* for boasting too much in his Orations of this great Action, by which he sav'd the Commonwealth, will find more Reason to ascribe it to the great Love he had for his Country, than to his Vanity. For most certain it is, that, had it not been for his Constancy and Resolution in the whole Course of that Affair, *Rome* had been expos'd to the Fury of the Conspirators; who, to raise their Fortunes, which were desperate in Peaceful Times, thought of nothing but Embroiling the State. Neither is there any Reason to imagine, that *Cicero*, in declaring for *Pompey*, when *Rome* began to be divided into Parties by that Civil War, did it with any other intentions than those of a good Citizen. It was not because that Party seem'd to have more Power than *Cæsar*'s, but because it seem'd to have more Justice on its side; it was in his Power to have made an Advantage of the Offers that *Cæsar* made him by *Trebatius*, if he would have accepted of a Command in the Army, but he would not Desert the State, and we know that that, especially the better part of it, was of *Pompey*'s side.

Civilibus Bellis neque specie neque metu declinatus Ciceroni animus, quominus optimis Artibus id est, Reipub. se jungeret. Quintil. L. 2. c. 1.

To what can those that accuse him of Timidity and want of Spirit, ascribe that Greatness

of

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of Courage which he shew'd in opposing *Marc Antony*, whose ill Intentions were sufficiently discover'd, by Presenting the Crown to *Cæsar*, at the Solemnity of the *Lupercalia*. I know not whether the Indulgence *Brutus* shew'd him in saving his Life, when they took away *Cæsar*'s, is Pardonable in so great a Friend to the State as he was. For had he consented to the Death of *Antony*, as *Cassius* wou'd have persuaded him, the Commonwealth had recover'd its Liberty. However, nothing is so pure and uncorrupted, as the Zeal *Cicero* shew'd for his Country, against this Ambitious aspiring Man, who thought of nothing, but how he might raise himself by all the unjust Methods he could invent. Not that *Cicero* wanted an Opportunity of being Reconcil'd to him with Advantage, if he would have resolv'd to have Acted the Polititian. But he had too just a Sense of his Duty, to Engage in any of those Practices which end in the Ruine of the Liberty of his Country.

Neither had he ever entertain'd the least thought of raising *Augustus* to the Imperial Dignity, had he not judg'd him a proper Person to Oppose the Designs of *Antony*. And that Prince had so great an Opinion of *Cicero*'s Zeal for the good of his Country, that he gave a Publick Testimony of the Esteem he he had for him, and such a one as was not in the least to be suspected, being made some time after his Death. For having one Day Surpriz'd one of his own Children hiding a certain Book under his Coat, he ask'd him what it was, the Child was unwilling to show it him for fear of his Displeasure, because it was *Cicero*'s Works, whom he had suffer'd not long before to be Proscrib'd: But the Emperour having

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having taken it, and read some Passages in it, gave it him again, saying, *Read this Book carefully, my Son, for the Author of it was a very able Man, and a great Lover of his Country.* And tho' out of a true Love and Affection for his Country, and the Publick Good, which this Man had cherish'd, and which was most deeply Rooted in his Heart, he very much disapprov'd of *Julius Cæsar*'s Designs of Usurping the Sovereign Authority, and had sufficiently declar'd this his Dislike to his Friends; yet *Brutus* and *Cassius* would not acquaint him with their Purpose of dispatching him, not out of any Suspicion they had of his Fidelity, which they had no Reason to doubt of, but because they judg'd, that the Sweetness of his Nature, together with his Integrity, would never have permitted him to have given his Consent to so Violent a Resolution.

Λαβὼν ἀνέγνω, ἢ φιλόπατρις. Plut. in Cic.

It was not on these Publick Occasions alone, in which Vanity often acts a greater Part than Virtue, that *Cicero* shew'd his Integrity; he was no less Just and Honest in all Private Concerns. He was a good Friend, and a good Father. He lov'd his Children, and deserv'd greater Kindnesses from his Wife, than she shew'd him in his Disgrace. Nor was it so much for his Son's sake, that he compos'd that admirable Treatise of Offices, as to give the Publick an Idea of his Morality, which was so little allied to any thing of Interest. And we may safely say, that there was never any thing writ in that kind, with greater Exactness, or with greater Rigor, as to the Precepts, especially if we do but consider, that it was compos'd at a time, when there was no other Conscience but Honour. *Cicero* had likewise the Art of so ordering every thing he did, that had but the least

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least show of Honesty, that he made it serve to enforce his Eloquence, which is never so powerful as when join'd with an establish'd Reputation.

And as nothing is so likely to establish such a Reputation, as an Uniform Course of Life, which consists in preserving a Character answerable to ones Station, and in maintaining it with that Constancy and Resolution, which the Decency of ones Condition requires, *Cicero* observ'd this Conduct as an indispensable Law, and made it the Rule of all his Actions; and this is the Rock upon which most of those that profess to speak in Publick, split. For, either they do not apply themselves to the Study of those Decorums which are proper for their Condition, and according to which, they are to Form a Character; or else, when they have found them, they have not Force and Power enough to Support and Maintain that Character. But, tho' it may be difficult to make our Practice answerable to the Severity and Rigour of our Principles, yet *Cicero* applied himself to nothing more, than to be the first that should put in Practice what he himself taught others; and Maintain'd, upon all occasions, not only the Dignity of his Profession, but likewise that Evenness and Constancy, which is observable in the Actions of all Virtuous Men.

Decorum nihil magis est profecto quàm Æquabilitas universæ vitæ, tum singularum Actionum. 1. Off. Cic.

CHAP.

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CHAP. VIII.

Wherein the Reputation of these two Orators, as to their Integrity, was assaulted.

Demosthenes in this, was not so happy upon several Accounts as *Cicero*; for he gave that Advantage to his Enemies, that they found Reason to accuse him of having receiv'd twenty Talents with a piece of Plate of great Value, from an Officer of *Alexander's*, who being disgrac'd for Male-Administration of his Revenues, was retir'd to *Athens*. This Present brought the Person that receiv'd it under a Suspicion, because it came from one who had been a Creature of the most declared Enemy that the Commonwealth had. *Dinarchus*, prevailed upon by the Enemies of *Demosthenes*, accus'd him on that Account of Bribery, to the People; and such was his Misfortune, that he could not be heard in justification of himself. The Esteem they had for him, was turn'd into Contempt, and after an Imprisonment for some time, he was shamefully Banish'd his Country. *Plutarch*, who gives such high Commendations of him upon all other occasions, cannot upon any pretence excuse him in this, tho' *Pausanias*, whom I would rather chuse to rely on, hath endeavour'd to Maintain and Justifie his Innocence, and to Represent his Accusation as a meer Calumny.

Paus. in Corinth.

Not but that *Cicero* had the Misfortune as well as he, to be Banish'd; but the Cause and Reason of his Exile, was not so dishonourable; for tho' the Senate gave his Consent to it, yet was that Consent extorted by the Violence of *Claudius* the *Tribune*, and the Practices of *Piso* and

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and *Gabinius*, whose Consulship became odious and detestable upon *Cicero*'s Banishment, and was indeed, nothing but a down-right Outrage, and a general Prostitution of all Laws. But what *Cicero* resented most under his Misfortunes, and what touched him most, was, not so much to see himself laid aside from all Employments, as forsaken by his best Friends, and particularly, by *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, whom he most Esteem'd, and who had always pretended a Respect for him. And the lively Description he gives us of his Grief on this occasion, was an effect, rather of his Tenderness, than any Resentment proceeding from Ambition.

The truth is, he was pitied, and very much lamented by the People, whereas *Demosthenes* was not, because his Reputation was not so Spotless: *Demosthenes*, defended himself indeed, against the Temptations of the *Macedonian* Gold, offer'd him by *Philip*, who was a sworn Enemy to the *Athenians*; but could not resist the *Persian* Present that was made him by *Darius*, who was a Friend to the Commonwealth. *Cicero* on the contrary, carry'd his Integrity to a higher Degree, in refusing the Presents of his Friends, because things of that Nature, from whomsoever they come, render the Virtue of a Publick Person suspected, who ought not to measure his Duty by his Interest. And upon this account, this great Man being Proconsul of *Cilicia*, refus'd the Presents sent him, by the King of *Cappadocia*, and those made him by the *Sicilians* when he was Pretor of *Sicily*, tho' both were Allies to the *Romans*. He had so great a Soul, that he thought he could not receive a Gift without some Submission to the Donor. And all great Men, whose Lives and Actions are always expos'd to Pub-

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lick View, cannot be too scrupulous of their Conduct, nor too curious in Matters of Duty, if they would preserve their Reputation entire.

It is urg'd in Reproach of *Cicero*, that having Prais'd *Cæsar* to Excess in his Publick Orations, he Acted the very Reverse, and abus'd him as much in some of his Private Letters to his Friends, which was very Ungenteel, and had a Tincture of Baseness, not to be Pardon'd. 'Tis true indeed, *Cicero* has spoke variously of *Cæsar*, in whom he observ'd both Good and Bad Qualities; the Bad he found fault with, and the Good he commended, never mistaking the one for the other: But it was his Prudence, that made him blame in Secret what was blameable, and commend in Publick what was commendable. And if we do but consider, that it was only to save the Lives of *Marcellus* and *Ligarius*, that he so freely bestowed his Praises on *Cæsar*; this alone will sufficiently Vindicate him from this Aspersion. For what is it that one would not do to save ones Friend? And it may be sometimes no piece of Injustice, to Praise those that do not deserve it, if it be only to inspire them with noble and generous Resolutions, of performing Actions worthy of Commendation.

That which is objected against him, about a House belonging to *Crassus*, at the Foot of *Mount Palatine*, which he Bought, as was pretended, with a Sum of Money presented him by a Criminal, named *Sylla*, in order to purchase his Favour, has so little Foundation in it, that it deserves not Confutation; since *Aulus Gellius*, who tells the Story, mentions not the least Circumstance to make it Credible.

That

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That which *Brutus* Reproaches him with in his Letters, is much more ſpecious. That Man, whoſe Intentions were ſo good, and with whom what remain'd of the *Roman* Liberty expir'd, accuſes him of having been the firſt that pay'd Adoration to the young *Octavius*, and that indirectly contributed towards the Raiſing him to the Throne, from whence he had ſo lately pull'd down the former Uſurper: Nevertheleſs, if any one will but reflect upon the State and Condition of the Commonwealth at that time, the Factions it began to be ſhaken with, the ill Deſigns of *Lepidus* and *Antony*; and in fine, the abſolute Neceſſity there was of giving a Maſter to a People, who amidſt ſuch a Diviſion of Intereſts, and ſo many different Pretenſions would no longer hear of any Lawful Authority; he will find, that *Cicero* acted with great Prudence, in endeavouring to Ruine all the Parties that were then on foot, by raiſing this young Man to the Throne, in whom he had reaſon to believe he might infuſe ſuch Principles as were for the good of the State; and alſo guide, by his own Counſels, that Authority he had given him, hoping he ſhould always have the Ear of him, who had ſo lately been his Creature. So that if *Cicero* is to be blam'd upon this account, 'tis becauſe he too much confided in the Power he imagin'd himſelf to have over the Spirit of *Octavius*. But there is nothing, in which great Perſons ſuffer themſelves to be more deceiv'd, than in the Preſumption they have, of being able to Govern others as they pleaſe.

Non Dominum fugiſſe ſed amiciorem Dominum quæſiſſe videberis. Brut. ad Cic.

Suſtinuiſſe gloriatur bellum Antonii togatus Cicero noſter. Brut. ad Attic.

This Error is very Pardonable in *Cicero*, at a time, when his Reputation was greater than ever: For upon the News of *Antony*'s Defeat, the People came and took him by force out of

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his House, and carried him in Triumph to the *Capitol*, out of a Perswasion, that the Success of that Action, was entirely owing to his good Counsels; and from that time he began to be look'd upon in *Rome*, as the main Support of the Commonwealth, and as the only Person, in whom all the Authority of the State Resided, as it was then in Disorder, by the Death of both the Consuls, and a general Confusion of Affairs. Most certain it is, that at that time, nothing was done without his Advice, and there was never any private Person that had so absolute an Authority in his Country. Had he not been scrupulous in Matters of Duty, the occasion might have Tempted him to have set up for himself, in so favourable a Conjunction; when the Weakness of all the Parties, not as yet well Form'd, the Confusion of Mens Minds, the Esteem the Senate had for his Worth, and the good Will of the People, seem'd all to conspire to Raise him; so that if it had not been in his Power to have made himself Master of the Commonwealth, he had at least Interest enough to make whom else he pleased. But notwithstanding all this, he did nothing but what he thought entirely for the Interest of the Government, and for the Advance of his own Glory. And probably, it was rather out of too much care and circumspection, than any thing else, that he gave occasion for those fatal Conferences, between *Octavius*, *Lepidus*, and *Antony*, upon which soon after was contriv'd that bloody Project of the Triumvirate, which cost the Senate more Blood, than had been spilt on the Plains of *Pharsalia*. The Head of *Cicero*, was the Price of the Reconciliation between *Antony* and *Octavius*, for that young Prince, wholly wrapt

Nec in Tullio defuisse videtur in ullâ parte Civis optimi voluntatem, testimonioest, actus nobilissimè Consulatus, integerrimè Provincia administrata, repudiatus vigintiviratus. Quintil. l. 2. c. 1.

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wrapt up with his own Greatneſs, forgot his Benefactor and the Inſtructions he had given him; and ſo Sign'd his Death, becauſe he well knew that his Virtue would by no Means ſubmit to the Uſurpations of Tyrannical Power.

The Advantages *Cicero* Obtain'd in his Warlike Expeditions in *Cilicia*, on the Banks of the River *Iſſus*, and near the Mountain *Amanus*, againſt the *Parthians*, are ſufficient Inſtances of his Courage, which he had in a greater degree than moſt Learned Men have imagin'd, who are all Cowards by Profeſſion; and that he had more Valour than *Demoſthenes*, who at the Battel at *Cheroneſus*, ſeeing, in at the firſt Attack, the firſt Rank fall, was ſo terrified, that he betook himſelf to Flight amongſt the foremoſt, and was ſo diſtracted with Fear, that he miſtook a Buſh that caught hold of his Coat, for an Enemy, and cry'd out for Quarter. But on the other ſide, he Dy'd with greater Bravery and Magnanimity than *Cicero*, reſigning himſelf up with a compos'd Countenance, and without much Concern; whereas *Cicero*, on the contrary, diſcover'd great Uneaſineſs and Inquietude, that his Deſtruction was inevitable. Not but that he is with great injuſtice accus'd with Cowardize, upon ſome Letters he writ to his Brother *Quintus*, and to his Friend *Atticus*, wherein he betray'd too much Weakneſs, by expreſſing his Thoughts too freely to them. But if we do but conſider, that there are certain things at the bottom of the Souls of the greateſt Men, which if we could look into, we ſhould find that they have their Weakneſſes as well as others, and are not altogether inſenſible of Misfortunes and Dangers; and that Heroes oftentimes gain their Reputation, not ſo much by diſcovering their good

Plut. in Demoſth.

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Qualities, as by concealing their bad ones, and by suffering no one to dive into the Secrets of their Hearts. So that the little Care *Cicero* took of hiding his Failures, ought rather to be ascribed to his too great Sincerity, than to a Littleness of Soul, or Meaness of Spirit; neither is it by any means, a discovering of our Weaknesses, to reveal them to a Friend, which is no more than imparting them to ones own self.

But as we commonly pass our Judgments upon most things, and that too with great Candor, according to their Appearances; so the Art of imposing upon others, and concealing ones self, passes for a very great Accomplishment amongst Politicians. This was not the Principle *Cicero* acted upon, who discover'd himself without the least Reserve, and always thought it the best Courage to appear in ones own shape without Disguise. And this Maxim he recommends as a Precept to his Orator.

Caput oratoris ut Ipse apud quos agit, talis, qualem se ipse optet, videatur. 1 de Orat.

CHAP. IX.

A Comparison of their other Personal Qualities.

ONE would imagine, that after having observ'd the Difference that there is between the Abilities, and between the Integrity of *Cicero* and *Demosthenes*, there could nothing else remain worth Remark, as to their Personal Merit. But yet each of them were endow'd with such other particular Qualities, which

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which, tho' less Essential to Eloquence, did nevertheless much contribute to the Reputation they had gain'd. The Advantage which consists in the agreeableness of the Orator's Person, one would imagine to be very inconsiderable; and yet we find that 'tis of great Importance to him; and *Quintilian*, who omits nothing that may any ways conduce to the Perfection of an Orator, gives us this Instruction, that the Care an Orator takes of his Deportment, is of no small Advantage towards his gaining the Hearts of the Audience.

Mirè autem dicturum dicturi Cura delectat. Ipse sudet se componit. Inst. l. 2. c. 3.

For if in order to Perswade, 'tis necessary that we please; we ought to take care that we please in every thing, and it is most particularly requisite, that there be nothing disagreeable in our Persons. In this, *Cicero* may be said to surpass *Demosthenes*, and perhaps to a greater Degree than he desir'd; so that no Comparison can be made of them in this Case, without allowing, that *Demosthenes* took more care of himself, as to this particular, and *Cicero* less. For it is observ'd, that *Cicero* was very decent in his Cloaths, and very Polite in his Dress, even to Affectation. He lov'd Perfumes, and a Genteel Table; and, as he was very pleasant in Conversation, he delighted in Entertainments, and was always very agreeable Company with his Friends. His Raillery was fine and delicate, and he manag'd all his Business with such an Address, that in the most serious Consultations, he would frequently mingle so much of light Conversation, as was enough to refresh the Mind without diverting it from what it was intent upon. This is the proper Character of that Urbanity, of which which he gives us the Precepts in his Treatise *De Oratore*. And tho' it be somewhat difficult

Plut. in vit. Ejus, August. l. 1. c. 5.

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in these times, to judge of the Wit he there proposes for our Imitation, in several Examples of the fine turn of Words, yet it is certain, that he was very good at it himself, seeing *Cato*, as Grave as he was, and as much a *Stoick* as he was, after having heard *Cicero* ridicule the Morality of the *Stoicks* in that Oration of his for his Friend *Murena*, could not forbear laughing, and saying, *I must needs confess, we have a very pleasant Consul.*

Plut. in Cic.

Demosthenes was not of this agreeable Conversation, he had not so much Wit and Fancy, and whenever he aim'd at it, he was not so happy as to have any Success; as *Longinus* observes in the Comparison he makes between him and *Hyperides*; his manner of Deportment being more upon the Reverse. He had an Air of Gravity, proper to command Attention, and make whatever he said, receiv'd amongst the People as the infallible Dictates of an Oracle. And as this his serious Demure Temper render'd him Prudent and Circumspect, so it made him Politick, even in his Expences, in which he was guided by his Ambition, which was the End of all his Actions. For he took delight in laying out his Money, in Repairing the City Walls, in Fitting out Ships, in Encouraging Trade, in Ransoming Slaves, in Marrying Poor Maidens, and in entertaining the People with Publick Sports and Shows. And tho' he did in some Measure gain the Affection of his Fellow-Citizens, by this Artificial Liberality, yet was all this Perform'd with accustomed Gravity; it not being in the Nature of him to condescend so far as to do things with that Affability and Air of Popularity, which is so necessary in a Commonwealth.

Luc. in Demost.

Not

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Not but that *Cicero* was likewise Liberal, and that even to Excess, but he took not so much care in laying out his Money upon things that made a great noise in the World; all his Expences were Great, and upon Noble Accounts, and proceeded more from his Temper and Disposition, than from any Politick Design he had in them. And by this means, he deserv'd the Name of Magnificent, and Liberal, tho' he thought it not, and was generally as Generous upon all occasions as *Demosthenes* was in some particulars. He is reckon'd to have had Eighteen Country Houses, all very Magnificent, stately Built, and splendidly Furnish'd. 'Tis true, he was not Master of so many Seats at one time. The chief of them were the *Tusculane*, the *Formian*, that at *Cajetta*, that at *Arpinas*, the *Pompeian*, and that he had near *Cumes*. Neither was it so much out of Pride, that he affected this Pomp, tho' it must be confess'd, he was a little Vain, as out of a Nobleness of Soul, which sought the Esteem of a People, that did not in the least disrelish any thing that was Sumptuous, so it were Maintain'd by Wealth honestly gotten. I was persuaded, that it would not be Superfluous to observe this Difference between them, tho' it have little relation to Eloquence, because all things of this Nature, serve to make a Great Man considerable in a State, that has any Esteem and Veneration for Virtue and Merit. Blondel. 9. Rom. Triumph.

After all, both the one and the other had the Art of managing every thing to that Advantage, so as to make it some way or other contribute to their Reputation; and their Conduct gain'd them such an Authority, as to render them entirely Masters of the Hearts of

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of their Auditors, and to command whatever they perſuaded. And this was what was moſt admirable in theſe two Orators. For whether we look upon it as the peculiar Gift of Heaven, or as an Effect of their Perſonal Merit; it is moſt certain, that never any two ſingle Perſons had ever a more abſolute Empire over two Nations, that were more Nice and Delicate, and more Jealous of their Liberty. But that we may form a better Judgment of them; we ſhall do well to obſerve the ſecond things, which *Ariſtotle* tells us, is neceſſary to the Art of Perſuaſion; which is, to know how the Minds of the Audience ſtand affected.

CHAP. X.

That in order to Perſuade, it is Neceſſary to conſider the Inclination and Diſpoſition of the Audience.

IF it be true, that Perſuaſion is a kind of Conqueſt over the Hearts of Men, an Orator may properly be compar'd to a General, and the Minds of thoſe he is to work upon, to a Place Aſſaulted; and as Courage alone is not ſufficient to carry on an Attack with Succeſs, without underſtanding well the State and Condition of Peace; ſo neither is the Eloquence of an Orator, of force enough to perſuade, without he apply himſelf to know the Humour and Genius, and the Intereſt of thoſe he would perſuade.

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No body ever better understood or taught the Art of making our selves Masters of the Hearts of Men by perswasion, than *Aristotle* has done in his Books of Rhetorick. And he is the only one, that knew well how to penetrate into the Heart of Man the most impenetrable thing in the whole World; that cou'd sound the depth of that Abyss, and find out the Clue that must guide us through all the Meanders that lead to that secret Recess. 'Tis to him we are indebted, for teaching us how to keep a secret Intelligence with the Soul by the Assistance of the Passions, how sometimes to attempt a Surprize upon it by Fear, or to allure it with Hope; how to win it by moving the Passions, and particularly that of Anger, by raising in it all those Commotions and Perturbations which are capable of forming an Interest there in favour of him that speaks. But unless we can perfectly know in what parts the Soul is most fortified, and in what it lies most expos'd; in what it is most sensibly touch'd, and in what void of all Tenderness, 'tis a difficult Task to put this Art in Practice with any tolerable Success.

And though this Philosophet is to be admir'd in all the Parts of his Works, yet is he no where more than in this particular part of them, where he has reduc'd what were before busie, rude and confus'd Instructions of Nature into certain Principles, which are so Infallible, that if they be but proceeded upon, they cannot miss bringing us to the propos'd End. It is then from this admirable Book, from this most excellent Epitome of Morality, that we must learn the Art of diving into the Hearts of our Auditors, and of winning their Affections. For unless we can find out and move the most hidden

Nisi Naturas Hominum, vimq; omnem humanitatis Orator perspexerit, dicendo quod volet perficere, non poterit. Cic. de Orat. l. 1.

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hidden Springs of the Soul, and search to the Root of the Weaknesses and Infirmities of Humane Nature, what Impression can all the outward Force of Eloquence make upon the Spirits of People?

The common Declaimers are Strangers to this Perfection, who instead of studying the Manners, Inclinations, and Humours of Men, the true Foundations of all Perswasion, employ their time and labour in a vain and empty Arrangement of Words; in gathering into one Oration all the Ornaments and Flourishes of Speech, which make not the least Impression upon the Hearers. Whereas on the contrary, the true Orator makes it his Principal Study to understand the Affections and Interests of his Audience, and observing the different Agitations each Passion produces in their Breasts, makes use of those that are most favourable to his design; and following the Natural Bent of their Inclinations, moves the same way they tend, and so takes hold on what they seem most prone to, that so he may with the greater ease draw them after him. And this Violence, which he does to his Audience, is manag'd with so much Art, that they think they go of their own accord, when the Orator drives them. But how few are there that have this Art of making themselves Masters of the Hearts of the People, by thus penetrating into them. The Inconstancy and Mutability of our Inclinations, the Alteration of our Humours, the Diversity of Interests, the Circumstances of Time and Place, and even Chance it self, all which have so great a share in this disposing of Men's Minds towards the bringing to pass any great Event, ought to be the Subjects of perpetual Study and Meditation; an Orator being oblig'd to make use of all

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all these Methods when he wou'd inspire his own Resolutions into an Assembly, and draw them over to his side.

But if the same Men in the same Country, and in the same Day are often of different Sentiments according as they are differently possest by several Passions, as *Aristotle* has well observ'd, how much more variable will the Opinions of People of different Climates be, whose Laws, Customs, Manners, and Humours, are so vastly different? And is it not then requisite, that an Orator, that desires to succeed in the Art of Persuasion, shou'd be able to discern all these Varieties, and put on different Forms and Shapes as occasion shall require? Had not *Cicero* been much mistaken, had he gone about to persuade the *Greeks* after the same Manner he us'd to do the *Romans*? And had not *Demosthenes* been as much in the Wrong, had he pretended to have gain'd upon the *Romans* by that Vehemency, with which he spake to the *Greeks*? But that we may the better Judge of the different kinds of Eloquence, which they were oblig'd to make use of upon the Account of the different Tempers of the People they had to deal with, we shall do well to consider the particular Genius of each Nation.

Lib. 1. Rhet.

Naturæ variæ & voluntates multum inter se distantia effecerunt Genera Dicendi Cic. Orat.

CHAP. XI.

A Character of the Genius of the Greeks, *in* Demosthenes *his time.*

THE *Greeks* were so polite and refin'd a People, that they look'd upon all other Nations not only as unlearn'd and ignorant, but

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but even as rude and barbarous. But of all the Greeks, the *Athenians* were the moſt Poliſh'd in all Arts and Sciences, and had the moſt exquiſite Taſte and Reliſh of Eloquence. There had been ſo many great Orators bred amongſt them, that all Polite Learning, by inſenſible degrees, became as it were Natural to them: *Pericles*, whoſe Harangues they compar'd to Thunder and Lightning, had ſo accuſtom'd them to hear nothing but what was Fine and Elegant, that thoſe who were to ſpeak in Publick, look'd upon even the meaner ſort of People, as ſo many Cenſurers of what they were to ſay. And this their accurate Judgment had introduc'd ſuch a Nice and Scrupulous way of ſpeaking in Publick, that they dar'd not make uſe of any one Word in their Orations, that was not juſt and proper in its Signification, and Authoriz'd by frequent Uſe.

Graiis Ingenium, Graiis dedit ore rotundo Muſa loqui. Poet. Hor.

Sincerum fuit ſic Eorum Judicium ut nihil poſſent niſi incorruptum audire & elegans: eorum religioni cum ſerviret Orator, nullum verbum inſolens aut odioſum ponere audebat. Cic. de Orat.

But as the Genius of this People was very much improv'd and refin'd by the Purity of the Language, and by the Beauty and Elegance of the Eloquence of the Orators, ſo was their Natural Fierceneſs much increas'd by Flattery; ſo that there was admirable Dexterity, and a great deal of wiſe Conduct requir'd to exerciſe the Empire of Perſuaſion over Men, who wou'd always be treated as Maſters, and as thoſe that had a Command over all that pretended to perſuade them. The Law of Oſtraciſm, which was made by reaſon of the inſupportable Tyranny of *Piſiſtratus*, did much add to the Haughtineſs of this arrogant and preſumptuous People. This Law was inſtituted by *Heraclides*, in order to introduce into the State a Form of Govern-

Gloriæ & Eloquentiæ ſolius libidinoſi. Tertull. Apol.

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Government, which might exclude from Publick Affairs, and Banish for ten Years all those whose Credit and extraordinary Merit might render them liable to Suspicion. And therefore such as had rais'd themselves by the most lawful and commendable Means, were to carry themselves so, that their Greatness might not expose them to the least Censure, nor give the least Offence to the Pride of that People, who were always very jealous of too great Merit.

This Law was so rigorously observ'd at first, that *Aristides*, who had obtain'd the Name and Title of *the Just*, and had done so many things for the Glory of his Country, was condemn'd to be Banish'd like a Malefactor, and that too by an unknown, abject, contemptible Fellow, that cou'd not so much as read: And though this Severity had lost much of its Vigor in the time of *Alcibiades*, and was almost quite abolish'd afterwards, as is the Fate of all Laws that are too severe, yet it made such an Impression of Jealousie upon the Minds of the *Athenians*, and created such an Aversion against those that had distinguish'd themselves by their Merit, that the Orators were oblig'd to a particular Care and Circumspection. And the Rules they were to observe, were so strict, as to prohibit all such artificial Ornaments as might in any wise disguise the Truth; and to forbid the stirring up any Passion that might surprize them; because they look'd upon the one as a Snare to entangle their Reason, and the other as an Attempt upon their Liberty. And this render'd their Discourses cold and dry, which proceeded more from the Restraints that lay upon them, than from any Defect in their Abilities. For if we rob Eloquence of its Art of moving

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the Minds of Men to Pity, we disarm it of its Principal Strength, and leave it only the rough and violent Passions, in which many times the Vehemency of Pronunciation alone has a greater Effect than all the Delicacies of Art.

Julius Pollux observes, that there was another Law made by the *Areopagites* against the Use of Proœmiums and Perorations, and against all Digressions in Criminal Cases; because those parts of a Discourse being purely for Ornament, and in order to work upon the Affections, might give the Orator an opportunity of surprizing the Judges, and moving them in his Favour. *Aristotle* in his Rhetorick, and *Quintilian* in his Institutions, both at large explain the Intention of this Law. And there is some Reason to believe the *Greeks* borrow'd this their Severity, from the *Arabians*; for *Averroïs*, in his Comments upon the Place where *Aristotle* mentions this Law tells us, that among them it was the Custom to speak in Publick without the Action and Gesture of a Declaimer, lest the Orator shou'd by these Graces impose upon his Audience. And though this Law was not strictly observ'd in *Demosthenes* his time, as it had been in *Solon*'s; yet we may see, that he confin'd himself to the Observation of that Ancient Custom; for without doubt his exalted Genius cou'd not but have furnish'd him with more moving Passages in his Perorations, which are never improv'd to that Degree they might have been. At least, *Quintilian* imputes it to this Law, which he pretends was in full force at *Athens*, even in *Demosthenes* his time; however, certain it is, that this Custom was of great disadvantage to him; for unless Elo-

Arist. c. 1. Rhet.

Athenis affectus movere etiam per præconem prohibebatur Orator. Quint. l. 6.

Epilogos illi mos Civitatis abstulerat. Lib. 20. cap. 1.

Omnis vis ratioq; dicendi in eorum qui audiunt mentibus aut excitandis aut sedandis exquirenda. Cic. Orat.

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quence does employ all its Force to raise or lay the Passions, it can never gain its Sovereignty over the Hearts of Men.

But besides that, the *Athenians* were a proud and fierce People; jealous of their Power, and severe in relation to their Orators, in that, they allow'd them not to move the Passions, on which entirely depends the whole Success of Eloquence: They were so impatient, light and inconstant, that they wou'd on a sudden go from one extream to another, and runcounter to all their own Determinations by sudden and precipitated Resolutions, which broke the Measures of those that were to treat with them. *Thucydides*, *Plutarch*, and *Polybius*, have in several places of their Works, left us very lively Descriptions of this their Inconstancy; but no body has better Represented it than *Cicero*, in the Oration he made in Defence of *Flaccus* his Successor, in the Pretorship of *Asia*, who was accus'd of Cheating the State. For he there imputes the many Revolutions in *Greece*, and the Ruin of that Republick to nothing but the Inconstancy of that turbulent and restless People, who wou'd many times be rul'd by nothing but their own Capricious Humour; all the Deliberations of which were so tumultuous and confus'd, that they, whose Revolutions were the most Rash, were the Men whose Counsels were most follow'd. A Turn of the Hand, or an Outcry rais'd by any Factious Fellow in the Assembly, often determin'd the Matter in Dispute, and was the Common Signal of the Advice that was to prevail. And this without doubt was the Reason, that *Aristotle*, who borrows most of his Notions of Go-

In quo uno regnat Oratio. Ibid.

Thucyd. l. 1. Hist. Plutar. in Lycur. Polyb. l. 6. Hist. *Græcorum Respublicæ sedentis concionis temeritate administrantur.* Cic. pro Flac.

Græcia concidit libertate immoderatâ & licentiâ concionum ibid.

Psephismata declarata, porrigendi manu & profundendo Clamore multitudinis concitata. Cic. pro Flac.

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vernment from the *Greeks*, made this Observation in his *Politicks*, *viz.* That the pernicious and destructive sort of Tyranny was that, which took its Rise from the immoderate Power of the People, when they had got the Soveraign Authority into their Hands.

And as we find that those who are most insolent when in Power, are always the most abject, poor, dispirited Wretches, when in Subjection; so the *Athenians* who were so Haughty and Imperious while their Government flourish'd, and was in its Prosperity, were the vilest Slaves to the Successors of *Alexander*, and afterwards to the *Romans*, when they became Masters of them. And indeed, never did any Nation seem more born for Servitude than they. For scarce had *Rome* extended the bounds of its Empire beyond *Italy*, but it began to swarm with *Grecians*, which gave occasion to *Lucian*, who always is full of Raillery, to say, That there was no Business or Employ for any body, in Great Men's Services at *Rome*, but for the *Athenians*.

De Mercede conductis. Luc.

Timidi & imbelles, quales a mænaGræcia & deliciæ, Orientis educunt. Ann. 2.

Tacitus, treats them after a ruder Manner, for he numbers them in the same Rank with the *Asiaticks*, who upon the Account of the Pleasantness and Beautifulness of their Country, were look'd upon as the greatest Cowards, and as the most Effeminate People in the World. All which make it appear, that this People, together with their Refin'd Wit, and that Inconstancy of Temper, we just now mention'd, had at the Bottom a great deal of Baseness and Cowardice, which put a necessity upon their Orators of condescending to their Humours, and of adapting themselves to their *Genius*, when they design'd to persuade them. They were forc'd, upon this Principle, to cajole and terrifie

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terrifie, to awe and flatter them in a Breath; and this is what *Demosthenes*, who well understood their Temper, manag'd with great Success.

It were nevertheless very unjust to include into this Number all those of that Nation, that have distinguish'd themselves from the rest, either by the Glory of their Actions, or by the Excellency of their Writings. For 'tis well known that from them 'tis we derived all our Knowledge in the Polite Arts, and the first Precepts of Honesty, Civility, and of the greatest part of Morality. But these great Persons had many times so little share in the Publick Decrees, that their Merit, of which they have left us so many Illustrious Instances, ought not to be admitted as the General Standard of the Character of this People. This small Number of worthy Men, however, does not in the least hinder, but that we may with truth affirm, that no Orator ever had to do with more untractable Spirits than *Demosthenes*; or that ever Form'd his Stile upon Rules so disadvantageous, in order to bring it to any Perfection.

CHAP. XII.

A Character of the Genius *of the* Romans *in* Cicero's *time.*

CICERO found a far more spacious Field, and indeed a more Beautiful one to exercise his *Genius* in. *Rome* was quite different in his time from what it had been in the time of

Qui bene pugnabat Romanam noverat Artem. Ovid. Fast.

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the first Consuls, and during the Authority of the *Decemviiri*, when their rude and savage Natures made all the Virtues, that they gloried in, to consist in the Art of War. She had insensibly lost her former Fierceness by entring into a Commerce with other Nations, and by the Care of *Scipio*, and *Lelius*, who were the first that begun to introduce Politeness, and taught that People to have a Relish of the refin'd Arts and Sciences. *Terence*, by the Assistance of these two admirable Persons, represented to this People, on the Stage, a Patern of Civil Life, in which he so well refin'd their Manners and their Wit, that *Ennius* and *Pacuvius*, whom they had before so admir'd, began to be very distasteful to them; so that they cou'd by no means pardon the ill Expressions of *Plautus*, whom they had before with too much Patience heard. All those great Men, that from the time of *Terence*, to that of *Cicero*, were the Men of Note, contributed very much toward the Refining and Polishing of this Nation, though the *Roman* never devoted themselves so entirely to these Studies, and never made so great a Progress in them as the *Grecians* did.

The Truth is, this refining of the *Roman* Wit, did neither lessen their Fierceness, nor make them less jealous of their Glory; but as this Fierceness in the *Greeks* proceeded from a Principle of Pride, so did it in the *Romans* from an excess of Courage. And this made *Cicero* say, *That other Nations were fitly qualified for Slavery, and able to undergo the Yoke; but that the Love of Liberty, and that Greatness of Soul which is requisite in those that are to command, was the proper Character of the* Romans. And the Privilege the *Roman* Laws allow'd young Persons of leaving their Estates by Will to whom they pleas'd

Aliæ Nationes servitutem patipossunt, Romani propria Libertas est. 6 Phil.

Tu regere imperio populos. 6 Æneid.

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pleas'd after fourteen Years of Age, contrary to the Custom of other Nations, is a sufficient Argument, that the Love of Liberty appear'd very just to them, when they Authoriz'd it in their Youth by a Law. Pride was so odious and detestable to them, that they cou'd not bear it so much as in their Masters. Sweetness and Modesty were the surest Methods of gaining their Favour; and as they were wholly given to the Labours of the Field, and to the Fatigues of a Camp, so they detested all those Vices which proceed from Idleness, and were never infected with them, till their frequent Conversation with the *Greeks*, after the taking of *Corinth*.

Suos agros studiosè colentes. Cic. pro Rosc.

Their Orators likewise were less confin'd in the Discourses they made to the Publick, those severe Rules which were so strictly observ'd at *Athens*, being not known at *Rome*; and unless it was the length of their Orations, which was stinted by *Pompey* in his first Consulship, there was no Restraint upon Eloquence, which might be any hindrance to it from using all its Arts, and setting all those Springs on work, which might any way affect the Hearers.

In fine, as there reign'd *in the* Roman *Common-wealth, a certain Air of Grandeur and Majesty*, which had in it something more Solid and Substantial *than what was to be found at* Athens, as *Lucian* observes in his Characters; and as the *Romans* had *Naturally a Love for Equity and Virtue*, as St. *Austin* tells us; so were they not in the least addicted to that Levity and Inconstancy of the *Athenians*, which broke all the Measures of those that were to transact with them. And in this, *Demosthenes* had as much reason to complain of his ill Fortune, as *Cicero* had to rejoice at his Good one, who had met with a

Jus bonumq; apud eos non legibus magis, quàm naturâ valebat. De Civ. Dei. cap. 12. lib. 18.

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People inclin'd to a Passionate moving Eloquence; from which, the *Greeks* receded with as great Abhorrence as they did, from any thing that was expresly forbidden by their Law; so that one might give his Fancy a free Liberty, and indulge it in a full Career, so as to Employ the whole Extent of his Art, in persuading; whereas the other being confin'd within the narrow Limits prescrib'd him by the Laws, was oblig'd to make all the Art of his Eloquence, consist in the Force of his Reasons. And therefore, tho' this different manner of Speaking, gave *Cicero* great Advantages over *Demosthenes*; yet, we cannot from hence Rationally infer, that he deserv'd to be Prefer'd before him. We must then proceed to examine, what that manner of Speaking is, which *Aristotle* makes the third thing necessary to Persuasion, before we can determine which of the two had the most Merit.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Third thing necessary to Persuasion, which is the Manner of Speaking. And of the Art of Eloquence in general.

THO' the Personal Merit of the Orator, as well as the favourable Disposition of the Auditor, are very powerful Instruments to prepare the Mind for Persuasion, yet the manner of Speaking has the greatest part in making that Impression, and in raising that Commotion

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on which Eloquence produces in the Minds of Men. There is an Eloquence in the very Air of the Person, which persuades no less than that which consists in Words. Persuasion in general, has that admirable Art, which makes so much noise in the Schools of Rhetoricians, and which all the Declaimers make such fair Promises of Teaching, tho' they understand it not themselves. It is that wonderful Secret of moving the Heart, which Rhetorick has made so long and tedious a Search after, without the least Success, tho' attended with its numerous Train of Precepts; and it is indeed what we can much easier conceive than express. For it is not in a confus'd Heap of many Tropes and Figures, with which Books are so stuffed, nor in a Pompous Arraignment, or in a vain, empty Splendour of many extraordinary Thoughts, which surprize and dazzle us with a Glaring Lustre, that this Art of Persuasion consists. For good Sense, which is always most Persuasive, does not sparkle so. Let us then proceed to Examine wherein this great Secret consists.

For the better clearing of this Point, we must observe, that the Spritelineſs and Vigour of our Natural Parts, is the Principal Ingredient of that Eloquence we are in Search after; so that the Ground and Foundation of it, is indeed Natural, as it is in all things which are capable of being Improv'd by Art. And therefore, whoever intends to be a Master of Eloquence, must begin with the Study of himself, with Examining into his own Abilities, whether he have a Natural Genius for that Noble Art; and if he can observe, that his Inclinations tend that way, he must cherish and improve them, and let Nature

Omnia quæ Ars consummaverit, à Naturâ ducere initium. Quintil.

Intelligentis est videre, quo ferat Natura sua quemque. Cic. in Brut.

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guide him in the whole course of his Study. For without this Precaution, all the steps we take are false, by reason of the false Measures we proceed upon, and the Neglect we are Guilty of, in not making our Search after what Nature has prepar'd for us.

In quâ Deliberatione ad suam cujusque Naturam consilium omne est revocandum. Off. l. 1.

The Rule that we ought to follow, is, with great Application, to learn what our Natural Inclinations are, and then with Resolution and Constancy, to persevere, in cultivating them, when we have discover'd the Bent and Tendency of them. We ought always to follow what we find our selves most inclin'd to, especially, in the Case before us; if our Inclinations are not absolutely bad. This is the first thing that *Cicero* advises us to, in his Rules about Decency; because whatsoever is not Natural is Affected, and all Affectation becomes a real Fault. This is so true, that we find the Air, which is so disagreeable and unbecoming in all those that go, speak, or do any thing affectedly, proceeds from its being Unnatural. Every one ought to regulate himself by this Maxim, for nothing can be becoming that is forc'd, and what is most Natural, is certainly the most becoming. So that to succeed in every thing we do, and in every manner of Life we lead, we ought not to admit of any thing, that is by any means Strange and Foreign, or disproportionable to our Genius. For it is hardly credible, how much we injure our selves by these false Methods; and this is one of the most general Causes of the Scarcity of good Orators, tho' there be Numbers that apply themselves to the Study of Eloquence. The greatest part of those that speak in Publick, dissatisfied with the Weakness of their own Parts, strive to imitate those they find

Tuenda sunt sua cuique non vitiosa sed propria. Cic. l. 1. Off.

Id maximè quemque decet, quod est cujusque suum maximè. Cic. 1. Off.

In Actiones omnemque vitam nullam discrepantiam ferre debemus. Ibid.

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find to have better Succeſs than themſelves; and this hurries them into that great Inconvenience, which *Cicero* ſays, attends thoſe that are ſubject to an alteration and change in their Deſigns. *It is impoſſible*, ſays he, *that any one ſhould ever be in a capacity of pleaſing, when he leaves the Means that Nature has given him, and borrows from others.* *Cicero's* way, without doubt, had never took, had it not been rais'd upon *Demoſthenes* his Bottom, and that agreeable Air, which was ſo becoming in him, would never have ſuited with *Demoſthenes* his Bravery. They both underſtood what fitted them beſt. This Genius is the Principal of thoſe Natural Qualities, which are abſolutely Neceſſary in order to the Attainment of Eloquence; upon which I have the more enlarg'd, becauſe it is what is generally, either very little known, or very much neglected.

Nihil decet invitâ Minervâ, id eſt, repugnante Naturâ. *Sic ut decorum conſervare non poſſis, ſi aliorum Naturam imiteris, omittas Tuam.* Off. 1.

As for the other Natural Qualities, I ſhall not ſtop long to treat of them. They conſiſt in a deep Underſtanding, in good ſound Senſe contracted and confirm'd by a long Exerciſe of Prudence and Diſcretion, whereby is form'd a good Judgment; the Solidity of which will prove defective, unleſs attended with a clear, regular, and undiſturb'd Fancy. For let the Underſtanding be never ſo good, it will miſcarry, if the Imagination be not rightly diſpos'd; for it is that alone which ſets all on Work; and upon this account it is, that it becomes of ſo great Importance. The Voice, and Air of the Face, the Geſture of the Body, with all the Movements of the Exterior Parts, are ſo many other Natural Qualities requiſite in an Orator; the Perfection of each of which, conſiſts in having ſuch a becoming Grace, as adds a Beauty to all our outward Actions.

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Learning and Art, are no less necessary to Eloquence; but these are acquir'd Qualities. As for the first, 'tis most certain, that no Body can have any great share of Eloquence without it, it will prove but an empty Sound, uncapable of making any Harmony, or of producing any Effect without a good Foundation of Learning. And it is upon the Account of this disorder, that the young Man in the *Satyrist*, is so in a rage against the Declaimers of his time, whom he taxes with being *the first Corrupters of Eloquence*; because they aim'd at nothing but a vain, empty, flourishing way of Speaking; a specious, gaudy, glaring Eloquence, that had not the least of Substance in it. This was not the way, says he, *Homer*, *Pindar*, *Plato*, *Thucydides*, *Hyperides* and *Demosthenes* took, in order to make themselves entire Masters of Eloquence.

Pace vestrâ dixisse liceat, primi Eloquentiam perdidistis. Petr.

This young Man's Indignation, (who was indeed a Youth of much good Sense, and spoke before those that had as little,) was upon this Disorder, much increas'd, when a certain Doctor, a Person of great Experience, to appease him, told him, that this Disorder proceeded from the Professors of Rhetorick, who to allure the Youth, amus'd them with the dazling Splendor of Words, which deceives them with a false Light, and pleases only the Ignorant. And that it was likewise in some measure owing to the Parents, who by ill Education, and by too early putting their Children upon Study, render them incapable of great things, while they pretend to make them most accomplish'd Orators, before they have begun to speak plain. In fine, he concludes with these Words, which, should I translate, would lose all their Force, and be depriv'd of all their Beauty.

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Beauty. *Quod si paterenter laborum gradus fieri, ut studiosi Juvenes lectione severâ mitigarentur, ut sapientiæ præceptis animos componerent, ut verba atroci stylo effoderent, ut quod vellent imitari, diu audirent, sibique nihil esset magnificum, quod pueris placeret; illa grandis Oratio subiret Majestatis suæ pondus.*

Nemo poterit esse omni laude cumulatus Orator: nisi erit omnium magnarum rerum & artium Scientiam consecutus. 1. de Orat.

This so Rational and Sensible a Discourse, does in general point out to us the Paths we must tread, in order to arrive at that Supream Degree of Eloquence, which gains Admiration. And it is certain, that we cannot pretend to any thing that is Great and Substantial, unless we first stock our Minds with noble Idea's, unless we first lay a good Foundation of fine Conceptions, of choice and beautiful Images, which the Knowledge of the Sciences will supply us with. This is the common and ordinary Defect of those superficial Orators, who think to support the Weakness of their Fancy, by the Strength of their Expressions, and who distinguish themselves from others, by clothing their poor thin Matter, their little trifling Thoughts in strong Lines, in great and magnificent Words. This is in short, what may be said of those Stores of Learning, which are so absolutely necessary for those that would merit the Honour of being enroll'd in the List of Orators.

It remains, that we say something of Art, which is indeed a Copious Subject of Discourse; but I shall not engage far in it, lest I should bring my self under an Obligation of Writing a whole Treatise upon Eloquence, when I am upon a Design that requires no more, than that I should give some Draughts that are most Essential to a just Comparison. We shall find it a Matter of great difficulty, to determine pre-

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precisely, wherein the Sovereign Perfection of this Art consists. Is it in a lofty and sublime, or in a strong and forceable way of Expression? In a close, well-compacted and concise, or in a pompous and extended Discourse? Is it a frequent use of Figures, or a plain Stile, that constitutes Eloquence? Does it, in short, consist in the Art of *Protagoras*, and *Trasymacus*, who, in *Plato*, make their boasts, that they can Persuade to what they please, or in the Natural Plainess of *Socrates*, who really does Persuade to what he pleases, and that without the least Ostentation?

Quantis illa clamoribus adolescentuli diximus de supplicio parricidarum? Quid tam commune quam spiritus vivis? Orat.

The farther we search into this Matter, the more difficult we shall still find it; especially, if we do but consider that Piece of *Cicero*, wherein he does so amply, and so admirably enlarge himself upon the Punishment of Parricides, which had so wonderful an effect upon the Minds of the People, and which the Orator himself, when he came to be more advanc'd in Years, look'd upon but as one of his Juvenile Essays. The truth is, there is in this Amplification, something too much Studied, something Forc'd and far Fetch'd, something that shows too much Art, and that seems too Elaborate. It was impossible to go through with a particular Detail, which would be infinite, were we to remark all those things, wherein Eloquence does not consist, it will be sufficient for our Purpose, if we can observe what is most Real and Essential, in Order to make a true Judgment of these two Orators; for which it will be enough to establish some general Maxims, upon which we may form an Idea of Eloquence, in which all the World agree. These, then are my Thoughts upon the Matter.

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The most Essential Part of all things, especially, of those that are to Please, is a certain Grace in the doing of them; which is the Ground and Original of the Agreeableness they entertain us with, of the Pleasure they excite in us. This was the Principle *Roscius* proceeds upon, and this the Rule that that celebrated Comedian, who was *Cicero's* Master for Pronunciation, often put him in mind of, and which this Orator afterwards apply'd to Eloquence: That *the most Essential Part of this Art, consists in knowing what will be most becoming; but what that is,* says he, *can neither be Express'd nor Taught;* tho' he gives us himself the Explanation of it in his Offices, when he says, that *this Decency, this Becoming, is nothing but a Suitableness and just Agreement of our Words and Actions to the Circumstances of Time, Place, Occasions, and Persons.* And this is so certainly true, that *Hortensius* his way of speaking in Publick, which took so much, when he was Young, ceas'd to please when he grew Old, because it was no longer suitable to those Years.

Quod Ipse Roscio sæpe audio dicere, Caput Artis decere. de Orat. l. 1. *Quod tamen unum tradi arti non potest.* Ibid. *Decet quod aptum est personis, temporibus, ætatibus.* Off. 1. *Cum id quod quâque personâ dignum est, & fit & dicitur.* Ib.

This is the Reason, that *Cicero*, in the Idea he gives us of a true Orator, says, that none can ever come up to that Character, but those that are able to discern what will most become them, and have the Art to Practice it. There is nothing that is so rare and uncommon, as this Art, as he himself acknowledges. Without it, it is absolutely impossible to please, and with it, we can never fail of pleasing, says *Quintilian.* For this disposes all things as they ought to be, into their proper Rank and Place, from whence arises that admirable

Manebat Idem non decebat Idem. Cic. in Brut. *Is erit Eloquens, qui ad quodcunque decebit, poterit accommodare Orationem.* Cic. Orat. *Quæro quem probem, probato Eum, qui quod deceat, videbit.* Ibid. *Nihil tam difficile quam quid deceat videre.* Ibid. *Nihil potest placere nisi decet.* Quintil. *Nihil tam quod non*

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mirable Order and Connexion of Words and Things, which is always so very pleasing. And the Sovereign Perfection of this Art, consists not so much in Adorning a Discourse with agreeable Graces, as in knowing how to place and adjust them, as that of Painting does in casting the Light, and in placing the Objects in a just Proportion with their Plan. This was *Antony*'s and *Cæsar*'s great Talent, as *Cicero* tells us in his Orator. One of which could Marshal the several parts of his Discourse as a General does his Army, and the other dispose of them as a Painter does the Objects of his Picture. This Order thus observ'd, is a great Advance towards Pleasing. For nothing is so disagreeable, as the Disproportion between the Parts of a Discourse, when the Arrangement of the Words and Things is ill contriv'd, when both are not plac'd in a good and regular Order.

There is likewise, besides this Natural Arrangement of the Parts, which makes up the Discourse, a certain Secret Grace in the speaking of things, which is not to be *Express'd*, and which is altogether as necessary to Eloquence, as the former; for we persuade, as we please. This Gift proceeds from a Natural Happiness, which some have of giving a Turn to their Thoughts, which renders them very agreeable. A Discourse may have its just Proportions, its Ornaments, and all its Beauties, and yet not please, because the subject Matter is not set off with that Air, which is so Taking and so Charming. For there is a great Difference between a Grace and a Beauty. But in what does this Turn, this Air consist, which recommends all that the Orator says, and conveys it insensibly, and with an agreeable Pleasure into our

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our Minds, and which produces ſuch wonderful Effects in Eloquence? *Cicero* would fain tell us what it is, but cannot; ſo that we muſt return to the former Principle we have eſtabliſhed, which is, that *to obſerve what is moſt becoming, is the great Eſſential of Art.* One may be taught to ſpeak well, but there are no Precepts that can be given for the learning this Becoming way, which gives ſuch a Turn to every thing. Happy are thoſe that have it; for in that conſiſts all Natural Eloquence, which is vaſtly different from the Artificial.

Caput Artis decere. Tull.

Dicere bene Nemo poteſt, niſi qui prudenter intelligit. Cic. Orat.

The ſecond Principle which conſtitutes this Art of Speaking well, is Thinking well upon the Subject of our Diſcourſe, and in this always to conſult good Senſe, the leaſt grain of which is of more Value than all the ſuperficial Luſtre, the Ornaments of Rhetorick can diſplay. This Wiſdom and Prudence, which is the Source and Original of all true Eloquence, as *Cicero* tells us, includes a ſolid Judgment, and a clear diſcerning Faculty, to make us Invent well, and Expreſs things well. There is nothing of greater Importance to Eloquence than this, for whatever is good Senſe, is always good Eloquence, and nothing can be truly Eloquent, be it never ſo Elegant, that is not truly Senſe.

Beſides this Genius, which has the Art of pleaſing from the Decencies obſerv'd, and from the Solidity of good Senſe, which is ſo neceſſary to Eloquence, there is alſo ſome Conduct to be us'd by the Orator; and this I eſtabliſh as the third Principle, which conſiſts in ſo applying the whole Art of Rhetorick, as not to ſeem to uſe the leaſt Part of it. For it is impoſſible to pleaſe, when we diſcover the Deſign of doing it, and we can never Charm

Pars Eloquentiæ Eloquentiam abſcondere. Senec. controv.

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Charm when we are known to make that our Aim. *Demosthenes* himself, as great an Orator as he was, was never less agreeable, than when he strivd most to please, as *Longinus* has observed of him. For Art can never prove Successful, unless under a Disguise, and the more we show of it, the less we shall be thought to have. Nothing can fail of Success with this Precaution; and yet this is a Rule, which we shall find to have been observ'd but by few, because it is a Matter of great difficulty to please, without seeming to please, and to appear with a negligent Air, when we are most concern'd.

Eloquentiam qui consecuti sunt, dissimulant, quia lingua suspecta est. Cic.

The last thing that ought to be observ'd is an exact Proportion between the Subject and the Discourse; so that we neither speak of things Great and Sublime, in a low Stile, nor cloath common and ordinary Matter in high and lofty Expressions. There is nothing so Offensive as this Disproportion, which is a common Fault in young Writers, who do often, without the least Consideration, soar above their Subject when that is low, and as often fall when that is high. We ought carefully to observe that Precept of the Orator, that the *Grandeur of the Discourse, ought to be in Proportion to the Grandeur of the Subject.* This Rule ought likewise to be extended to those Persons to whom we Address our selves. For 'tis, above all things, very requisite to know how to Proportion our Discourse to the Apprehensions of our Auditory, and to guide our selves by their Lights. We ought to speak after a different manner, before Wise and Understanding Persons, and before the Ignorant and Unlearned. This is what *Cicero* and *Demosthenes* both Practic'd. Upon these Principles, we may proceed to

Quanta ad rem, tanta ad Orationem fuit accessio. Cic. Orat.

Examine

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examine the Eloquence of these two great Men and compare their Characters, that so we may Observe the different Methods they took, and accordingly determine which of them is most likely to persuade.

CHAP. XIV.

A Character of Demosthenes *his Eloquence.*

Demosthenes was of a Cholerick, Melancholy Temper; the Heaviness which proceeded from his Melancholy, made him Obstinate and Resolute in whatever he had undertaken; and his Choler inspir'd him with Vigour and Activity to perform it. Tho' this Temper made him somewhat Chagrine, yet at the same same time it made him Serious, which contributed to his Reputation: For it was from his Temper, that the Severity of his Manners proceeded, which gain'd him the Opinion of a Person of great Integrity in the State, and inspir'd him with Courage to declare himself against *Philip* and *Alexander*, the Conquerours of the whole World. And tho' the Power of these two Princes had render'd them Terrible all over *Greece*; yet *Demosthenes* treated them after such a manner, as never was any King by any Private Person, who had no Authority, but that of an establish'd Reputation, and no Power but that of Eloquence.

Ipsâ tristitiâ & severitate popularis. Cic. de Cassio. l. de Clarif. Orat.

He had likewise Naturally a great and noble Genius for all the Sciences, and a Spirit that

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enabled him to surmount all the Difficulties he met with in his endeavours after Eloquence. After he had well furnish'd his Mind with all the Knowledge that was necessary to his Profession, he applied himself to a certain Comedian whom *Photius* calls *Neoptolemus*, to learn the Art of Pronunciation. *Quintilian* calls him *Andronicus*, and *Plutarch Satyrus*; which makes it probable, that being so passionately desirous of succeeding in that Art, he made use of several Masters. *Satyrus*, who was a very good Declaimer, and understood his Art very well, made him begin, as *Plutarch* tells us, with repeating some of *Sophocles* and *Euripides* his Poems in order to Form his Voice; which when he had done, his Master repeated them after him with so much Life and Grace, that they seem'd quite another thing. Upon this remarkable difference in the very Pronunciation, he began to be sensible how very requisite a good Pronunciation is to an Orator; since the very same thing differently Pronounc'd, appear'd it self so strangely different to him.

Quintil. l. 11. c. 3.

Thus by the help of these Masters, this young Man found great Encouragement from his Genius and Natural Inclinations, to determine him with Resolution towards the making himself Master of the Art of Pronunciation, as the principal Art in which his Eloquence consisted. And indeed, he added to his Natural Vehemency such lively Exterior Actions, that it was impossible to hear him, without feeling at the very bottom of ones Soul the sensible Effects of his Actions. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that he had a very quick and brisk Eye, the Motions of which he took the Advantage of, to express in his very Face whatever Action was requisite to his Subject, and to make himself look Ter-

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Terrible, whenever there was occasion. He gave his Voice such an Inflexion, and such a Tone to his Words, and such an Air to all his Actions that he gain'd the Admiration of all that heard him.

In ipso vultu valent oculi, per quos animus emanat. Fab. l. 11. c. 3.

So that Action was almost the Sovereign Quality in which his Eloquence consisted; and he himself was us'd to say that it was the first, second, and third Part of it; meaning thereby, that the whole Art of Eloquence consisted in Speaking well, whatever we had to say, and that *every thing is to be rated according to the manner it is delivered in.* But nothing can give us a better Idea of the great Advantage *Demosthenes* had over all other Men in this Art of Pronunciation, and in a graceful Action, than the Testimony of his greatest Rival. For *Eschines* being cast in a Suit he was engaged in against *Ctesiphon*, whom *Demosthenes* had defended, for Shame and Grief, had retir'd to *Rhodes*, where some of his Friends importuning him to repeat to them the Oration he had made against *Ctesiphon*, he read it over to them, upon which they requested likewise of him, to let them hear that which *Demosthenes* had made against him, which he likewise did, and read it to them very distinctly, whereupon they all began to admire it; but *what would you have done*, says he, *had you heard him speak it himself*, thereby intimating his excellent way of Pronunciation.

Pronunciationi palmam dedit Demosthenes. Quint. l. 11. c. 3.

Omnia perinde sunt, ut aguntur. Cic. de Orat. l. 1.

Magis admiremini, si ipsum audisseris. l. de Orat.

To this animating Power of Action, he had join'd the equal Force of great and noble Expressions, of lively Descriptions, of moving Passages, and of Images proper to affect and make strong Impressions upon the Mind. In fine, all his Discourse was full of Expressive Figures, of frequent Apostrophes, and reitera-

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ted Interrogations, which gave Life and Vigour to, and animated all he said, as *Longinus* observes. So that we may truly affirm, that never any Orator rais'd his Anger, Hatred, Indignation, and indeed all his Passions to that height as *Demosthenes* did. And this, doubtless was the Reason that made *Demetrius Phalerius* say, *that he Harangued, as if he had been inspir'd*, and *Eratosthenes* in *Plutarch*, *that he spoke like an Enthusiast*. For he was as it were inflam'd when he spoke, by the Heat of his Action, and the violent Transport of his Imagination.

Long. Sect. 1.

What shall I say of that sharp Style, wherewith he stir'd up the Minds of all the Commonwealth against *Philip*, without any regard to his Quality; of those bitter Invectives he made against *Midias*, in order to render him odious and obnoxious to Publick Hatred; of those vehement Transports of Passion he was in against *Eschines*, in his Oration for *Ctesiphon*; of all those frequent Invocations of the Gods; of those Apostrophes to the Sun and Stars; of those Oaths by Heaven and Earth, by Fountains and Rivers, according to the Maxims of his Religion; and of those strange forc'd Figures, and of all those violent Passions, and furious Commotions, which we meet with in the several parts of his Discourses? To all which, he adds a Tone more Thundering than that of *Pericles*, whom he had Propos'd for his Imitation. And this Vehemency of Action, join'd with that of Expression, is what makes up the Character of that powerful Eloquence, which none ever arriv'd to but *Demosthenes*, as *Longinus* assures us, and of which *Quintilian* has left

Aut qui non est, aut majorem qui est faciat affectum. Hæc est illa rebus indignis, asperis, invidiosis vim addens Oratio, quâ præter alios valuit plurimum Demosthenes. lib. 6. cap. 2.

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us so fair a Description in his *Institutions*, where he says, that *Demosthenes made what Impressions he pleas'd upon those that heard him, by inspiring them with his own Sentiments and Passions, or by raising those they were already possess'd of; by making them sensible of all his Ardour, and by stirring up in them Anger, Envy, or Indignation against those he was himself against; and that this was the Principal Art in which his Eloquence consisted.*

He had also a particular Talent in representing things exactly with all their Circumstances, which is of no small Moment in order to gain Credit with the People, to whom all things seem to have a greater Degree of Probability if they are but well Circumstantiated. And he had so exquisite an Art of Painting all things according to Nature, that the meerest Fables, as he related them, wou'd persuade more, upon the Account of that simple plain way he deliver'd them in, than the most substantial Reasons, than the most convincing Truths alleg'd by others. And these kind of Representations of things taken according to Nature, were what he had wonderful Success in.

We are told by *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, that *Demosthenes* his Eloquence was very Artificial; he cou'd turn and wind, and tread the most unbeaten Paths, to come to his propos'd End with the greater Security. And thus in his Oration about the Fleet that was order'd to be fitted out against the King of *Persia*, by Representing to them the Difficulties they wou'd meet with in such an Enterprize, without engaging all *Greece* in the Design; he makes the whole Undertaking so difficult, according to his Account of it, that, though he seems as to all appearance to persuade them to it, yet he in reality dissuades them from it, as he at first in-

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Ut objurgaret populi segnitiem, majorum laude uti maluit. Quintil. l. 6.

tended. And in the same Manner, when he design'd to blame the Cowardice of the *Athenians*, he did it by Representing to them the Valour and Heroick Actions of their Ancestors.

Quintilian, in the sixth Book of his Institutions, explains this Artificial Turn, which this Orator made use of to surprize his Auditors; and of which he had his first Ideas from *Thucydides*, in the Examples of *Nicias* and *Archidamus*. *Ulpian* observes, that there were but few Examples of this Artifice amongst the Orators of his time.

Ut meliora probantes pejorum pæniteret. Ibid.

And this it was without doubt, which gave *Hermogenes* occasion to say, in his first Book of *Ideas*, that *Demosthenes* was very Artful in concealing his Art. *Ulpian* says the same in more express Words, in his Preface to the *Olinthiacks*. *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* particularly commends the excellent ordering of his Discourse, which he marshals with so much Art and Method, that he always ranks every thing in its most proper Place. But although he had a most admirable Talent at displaying his Reasons to the best Advantage, and of establishing his Arguments upon firm and lasting Foundations, yet was he infinitely more expert at confuting those of his Adversaries by the strength of his *Enthymemes*, which were so celebrated by all Antiquity. And he never appear'd more powerful, than when he was most powerfully attack'd, as we may observe in his Oration for *Ctesiphon*, the Success of which rises, as to its Value, in proportion to the Greatness of the Merit of *Eschines*, his Adversary. Never was any Affair transacted by two Orators, with greater Heat and Fury, or with greater Application, for they were full four Years in preparing

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paring their Matter. This Animosity which resounded throughout all *Greece*, brought together from all parts a mighty Concourse of Auditors to assist at this Decision; and to see a Tryal of Skill between these two Great Men, who were so celebrated for their Emulation.

Ad quod Judicium concursus dicitur è totâ Græciâ factus. Quid enim tam visendum quam summum Oratorum in gravissimâ causâ accurata & inimicitiis incensa Contentio? Cic. de op. gen. orat.

But as this Vehemence was the Principal Quality of this Orator, so *Photius* assures us, that those Harangues he made to the People, had more Force and Energy in them than those he made to the Senate; for whatever is Great and Noble in Eloquence, is so to Advantage, when deliver'd before a Great Assembly. It is true indeed, that the Credit he had gain'd in the State by the Integrity of his Intentions, Authoriz'd him to say any thing, and to speak to this People with Indignation and Resentment, who were of that Temper, that they must be pres'd to their Duty. The Sharpness this Orator us'd, and the frequent Instances he gave them of his being Angry and Enrag'd at them, were not in the least displeasing to them, when they were once sensible that there was a necessity of waking them out of that Lethargy, into which their natural Negligence and Idleness had led them; and *Demosthenes*, that he might the more securely manage this sort of People, who were truly Proud and Haughty, but withal Timorous and Cowardly, made a great show of his Zeal for the Good of the State upon all Emergencies. They had accustom'd themselves to bear his Invectives and Reproaches, by Reason of the Fruit they often reap'd from his good Counsels. Neither was he himself Ignorant how requisite it was sometimes to appear Angry and Severe, that he might be Useful to those that heard him.

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There was nevertheless in this Austere kind of Eloquence, a great deal of solid Reason, of sound Judgment, and good Sense, without any false Colours, without any thing that is weak or superficial; and his Reproaches how severe soever, were always taken in good part, because he back'd them with such weighty Reasons and Arguments as were irresistible. His Language was the common Dialect, having nothing in it that was far fetch'd, or exquisitely Nice, and yet it was very Pure, and highly agreeable to the Delicacy of Taste then prevalent at *Athens*. But he had an Art of giving his Language, as plain as it was; all the Life and Vigour that cou'd be, so that he pleas'd by the Vehemence of his Action. And now that we may the better make our Judgment of the Value of his Eloquence, we shall do well to observe the Effects it produc'd.

CHAP. XV.

The Effects of Demosthenes *his Eloquence, and the Commendations the Ancients gave of it.*

THough all the Men of Learning have had a mighty Contention amongst themselves, who shou'd speak most in Commendation of this Orator; yet nothing that any of them have produc'd in his Praise, seems to me comparable to what *Lucian* says of him by the Mouth of *Alexander's* Successor. *Had it not been for* Demosthenes, says King *Antipater*, *I had taken*

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ken Athens *with less difficulty than I did* Thebes; *but he was every where to oppose my Designs; he cou'd by no means be surpriz'd, but was alone more formidable than whole Fleets and Armies: What wou'd he have done, had he had the Command of an Army, or the Administration of the Publick Revenues, when we found it a Matter of such difficulty to defend our selves against the very force and power of his Words.*

King *Philip* reflecting how terrible this Man wou'd have been, had he had any Warlick Command, when the Thunder of his Eloquence was so dreadful, says in the same Place, *Let no one call the* Athenians *my Enemies, for I know none I have but* Demosthenes: *It is he alone that wages War with me, that opposes my Designs, and frustrates all my Enterprizes.* And indeed, 'twas his Eloquence that join'd all *Greece* in a League against the *Macedonians*, that brought the *Thebans* into the Alliance, though they were before engag'd to *Philip*; and this notwithstanding, that Prince had sent to *Thebes* two of his greatest Ministers of State, *Amintas* and *Clearchus*, to secure his Interest, and oppose the Designs of *Demosthenes*, who was there as Envoy from the *Athenians*.

So that this incomparable Person gave that Prince more trouble, and more confounded his Affairs by the Sole Power of his Office, than the *Pyreum* with all its Gallies, or the united Force of all *Greece*. Nay, his Fame was so great, that as soon as it was known that he was to speak in Publick, there was a great Concourse of People from the Neighbouring Parts to hear him. *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* confesses, *that whenever he read one of* Demosthenes *his Orations, he found himself so strangely mov'd, that he was not himself, but was wholly possess'd with the Spirit of that Author; he was fully sensible of, and much*

Ut concursus ex tota Græcia fierent cum Demosthenes dicturus esset. De claris Orat. Cic. Epist. ad Am.

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much touch'd with all his Passions of Hatred, Anger, Pity, Indignation, and Hope; and all he said, made the same Impressions upon him, as the Mysteries of the Goddess Cybele *did upon her Priests.* I am not surpriz'd at this Charm, at this Enchantment, which so mov'd and affected this Learned Man, when he read *Demosthenes*, for as he was himself of a very penetrating Judgment, so he did easily comprehend the Reasons, enter into the Thoughts, and take all the Views of this Orator; and by a kind of Sympathy of Souls, dive as far into them as if they had been his own Thoughts. And there is no one but will find the same Effects from reading the Orations of *Demosthenes*, if he read them with the same Attention and Preparation of Mind as this Orator did. For we cannot but be touch'd with them, if we are rightly dispos'd.

One need only be at the Trouble to read *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Demosthenes*, to be acquainted with the strange Effects of his Eloquence. But when I had read that, nothing seem'd to me to tend more to the Honour and Glory of this great Man, than what *Quintilian* says of him, *That it was the Eloquence of* Demosthenes, *that made* Cicero *an Orator.* And this is what *Cicero* himself acknowledges, when he says, *That he made it his Endeavour to follow him, but cou'd never attain to it.*

Ciceronem quantus est magnâ ex parte fecit. l. 10. c. 1. Instit.

Demosthenem imitemur quid aliud agimus? at non assequimur. Brut.

I mention not the Advantage *Demosthenes* gain'd over *Python* the Orator, and prime Minister of State in *Philip*'s Court, whom *Diodorus Siculus* so much commends: Nor that Success he had against *Hyperides* and *Phocion*, so admir'd by *Plutarch*; but shall pass on to those Commendations the Men of Learning have given this incomparable Orator.

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Eratosthenes in *Plutarch* says, *There is something Divine* in *Demosthenes* his Eloquence. *Leosthenes* in *Lucian*, assures us, that *Demosthenes* his Discourses are the only ones that to him *seem to have any Life and Vigor in them. Theophrastus* being ask'd what he thought of *Demosthenes* his Eloquence, answer'd, that he found *it much Superior to the Merit of the* Athenians. *Polyeuctes* the great *Spettian* Orator, who had a share in the Administration of the Publick Affairs, and who liv'd in *Theophrastus* his time, gives this as his Opinion, that *Demosthenes was the Greatest of Orators. Aristotle* presenting this Great Man to *Alexander*, assures that Prince, that *the Greatness of his Genius, and the Force of his Eloquence had made him admire him above all others. Alexander* the Great, call'd him *the most Powerful of all Orators in the Art of Persuasion*, and said, *That his Eloquence was enchanted, because he cou'd persuade to what he pleas'd. Menedemus* in *Cicero*, says of him, *That he had the Art of moving the Passions, and raising them as he pleas'd.* Luc. in Demost.

Hermogenes in his *Ideas*, testifies of him, *That the Character of this Orator, was the most Perfect and Compleat of any. Dionysius Halicarnassens* says, *That he surpass'd in Eloquence all his Predecessors, Successors, and Contemporaries. Suidas*, that *he expres's'd with a wonderful Force what he had premeditated. Cicero* searching for a perfect Orator in the Idea he gives us of one, declares, *that there is no Example to be found of an absolutely perfect Orator but in* Demosthenes. *Valerius Maximus*, assures us, *that his very Name alone gives us a Notion of all that is Great in Eloquence. Longinus* stiles *his Eloquence naturally Great and Sublime, and of the most consummate Perfection. Plutarch* and *Quintilian* have said more on this Subject than all the rest. *Antonius*, in his Epistles to *Symma-*

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Symmachus says, *That never any cou'd ever arrive to the strength of* Demosthenes *his Reasonings.*

These Elogies may be oppos'd to the Invectives of *Juvenal*, and *Sidonius*, who have Reproach'd *Demosthenes* with the Obscurity of his Birth, as if the Faculties of the Soul, and the natural Abilities of every Man, depended upon the Circumstances of his Nativity. I pass by in silence the Commendations that have been given him by our Modern Writers, but cannot omit what one of the most considerable hath said of him, *That no one can well understand the whole Art of his Enthymemes and Argumentations, but according to the Advances they have made in Learning, and the Knowledge they have in Rhetorick.* I shou'd never draw to a Conclusion, were I to take in all that might be produc'd upon this Subject; what hath been already said, may suffice, to give us an Idea of the extraordinary Worth of this Great Man, and a just Estimate of his Merit.

Eras. in Demost.

CHAP. XVI.

A Character of Cicero's *Eloquence.*

NEver was any Person born in a more happy time for Eloquence, nor his Birth accompanied with more remarkable Circumstances, than was that of *Cicero.* He was descended of a Father, that was a Person of very good Quality, and came into the World at a time, when the Government was in its most flourishing Condition, at a Period, when all Knowledge was come to its Perfection, and in an

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an Age the most Refin'd and Polish'd that ever was. Nature, which for the most part brings forth her Productions at all Adventures, without any choice of Materials, or other design than to go on in her old beaten Tract, did not observe her Rules, did not keep to her Principles in what concern'd him; for she never was more favourable to any one that was design'd for a perfect and most accomplish'd Orator. She began with adorning his Body with all those Graces that cou'd make him lovely, and with furnishing his Mind with all those natural Qualities that were proper to render him an extraordinary Person. His Melancholy, which, according to *Aristotle*, is the common Temper of great Wits, had nothing in it that was dull or heavy; and what is very unusual, there was never any one single Person that was Master of so much solid Reason, and had so much Vigour and Vivacity at the same time.

He had a great Soul, a penetrating Judgment, a neat, plain, and regular, but a rich and fruitful Fancy, a tender Heart, a taking Air, a charming Delivery, a handsome Face, a good Voice, a pleasing Address, a commanding Presence, and a general Agreeableness in all Respects. *Plutarch* assures us, that he was so amiable in his tender Years, that the Fathers of those he studied with, took a delight in seeing him at School. Those vaste Stores of Knowledge, and those immense Treasures of Learning, with which he had, with so much Care and Labour, repleniſh'd his Mind, after many Years spent, and many Voyages undertaken in the pursuit of the Polite Arts and Sciences, added Weight and Authority to all he propos'd, and made him speak with the greatest Solidity that can be imagin'd. And indeed, without

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without this Foundation of Knowledge, Eloquence is but a confus'd Heap, a meer Trifle or Tone, fit only to make a Noise in the World.

Besides this Solidity, which includeth so much Sense and Prudence, he had a certain Spritelineſs of Wit, a peculiar Grace, which gave an Embelliſhment to all he ſaid; ſo that whatever was the Product of his Imagination and Fancy, he gave it a fine turn, and made it appear in the moſt agreeable Colours. Whatever he treated of, whether it were the moſt abſtruſe Queſtions of *Dialect*, the moſt Barren parts of Natural Philoſophy, or the moſt perplex'd intricate Caſes of the Law; whatever came within the Compaſs of his Diſcourſe, though never ſo entangled, though never ſo ſurrounded with Difficulties, did ſtill ſhare of that Gayety of Spirit, of that Spritelineſs of Wit, and of thoſe Graces that were ſo Natural to him. For we muſt own, that never any one ever had the Talent of Writing ſo judiciouſly and ſo agreeably at the ſame time, that never any one ever yet had the Art of mixing ſo much good Senſe, and ſo much good Wit together.

He has moſt exactly drawn his own Character, in that he has given us of *Craſſus*, whom he has deſcrib'd as the moſt accompliſh'd Orator of his time. *He had*, ſays he, *much Gravity in his Diſcourſe, but that Gravity was free and pleaſant; he was Elegant without Affectation, he had a popular Air, ſupported by the Dignity and Grandeur of his manner of Expreſſion.* And in Truth, he can by no means be look'd upon to have acted amiſs in thus drawing himſelf in the Perſon of him, whom he prefer'd to all others, and whom he look'd upon as the moſt exact Model of Eloquence. And this is the Rea-

Craſſo nihil ſtatuo fieri poſſe perfectius. In Brut.

Craſſus perſonam Marci Ciceronis ſuſtinebit. Man. in lib. 1. de Orat.

ſon

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son why, in his Book *de Oratore*, he expresses his own Sentiments upon the Subject of Eloquence by the Mouth of *Crassus*, and seldom speaks but in his Person, to give more weight to what he says, and to authorize his Opinions. And as his Knowledge was Universal, so did he write equally well upon all Subjects, which is a certain sign of the Greatness and of the Excellency of his Genius, which admitting of no bounds, was capable of succeeding in whatsoever he engag'd in. And this also, is one of those chief Commendations *Cicero* gives his *Crassus*. There are many other things to be said of him, were we to descend to particulars.

Versatus in omni genere causarum. Cic. in Brut. *Tullium habemus in omnibus dicendi generibus eminentissimum.* Quint. l. 12. c. 9.

But after all, the principal Perfection of his Eloquence, was his admirable Talent of affecting the Heart upon Pathetick Subjects, by that wonderful Art of moving the Passions, the Ground and Foundation of which he had from Nature, and which he so well improv'd by a constant Study of *Aristotle's* Rhetorick. For in that alone is the whole Artifice of Eloquence predominant, in that alone it displays it self in its full Lustre and with all its Force, by the great Motions and violent Impressions it makes in the Heart in stirring up the Passions. *Cicero* was Master of this sort of Eloquence in so eminent a Degree, that in Cases of high Importance, when several Orators were to Plead, he had always those Parts assign'd him, in which he might be most Pathetical, because he had greater Success in that than all others of his Profession. *Brutus* himself said, That though *Hortensius* was so well qualified for Eloquence, as to vie with *Cicero*, or at least to oppose him in any Cause, and upon any Affair, were it of the greatest Moment, and of the highest Importance; yet he, without the least Contenti-

Hoc est quod dominatur in judiciis, hæc Eloquentiam regunt. Quint. l. 6. c. 2.

on,

Ut plangore & lamentatione forum compleremus. Orat.

on, most freely yielded to him in the Art of Peroration, because it was *Cicero's* Sovereign Perfection to be moving, and to make Impressions upon the Minds of the Judges by the Turns of his Eloquence. And in this he had such wonderful Success, that sometimes he wou'd force Sighs and Tears from all that stood round the Bar. These strange Effects proceeded from a singular Art he had of working and insinuating himself into the Heart through the Mind; where by the force of his Reasonings, he was able to Sow those Seeds from whence those ardent Motions sprang, which he made use of to shake the Resolutions of all that heard him.

That he arriv'd to this height of Perfection, is principally owing to the Qualities of his Natural Temper and Disposition: For he had a very tender Soul, and a soft passionate Air. In the second Place, the Graces of his Delivery and Pronunciation, gave him a very easie admittance into the Hearts of his Audience, who finding themselves surpriz'd by so many Charms, had not the Power to make any Resistance. But to all these Natural Beauties, he likewise added an infinite number of Artificial ones, which he display'd throughout his whole Discourse, by an Eloquence embellish'd with all the Figures and Ornaments of Speech; and this is, what is one of the Brightest and most Resplendent parts of his Character: For never had any one Person in any Language so fluent a Tongue, or such a command of Words.

Plainness maintain'd by a great deal of good Sense, and supported by an Air of Majesty, is, in my Opinion, the Sovereign Perfection of Discourse. I find in the Expressions of the Ancients, who are our truest Models, three different

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different Characters of Plainess. In *Cæsar* a naked Plainess, a pure Simplicity; in *Petronius* an affected one; and the third in *Cicero*, who knew how to chooſe a juſt Temperament between theſe two Extreams, in order to compleat the Character of Expreſſion he had Form'd, which, in my Opinion, is the moſt perfect of all. *Cæsar* is too plain, *Petronius* not plain enough, and *Cicero* as he ought to be. For in avoiding the Barrenneſs of *Cæsar*, and the Affectation of *Petronius*, he knew how to interweave his Ornaments, how to mix them with ſuch things as were capable of receiving them, and how to cut them off from ſuch as deſerv'd them not, without ſoaring above his Subject; as Men of little Spirits, of mean and narrow Capacities, and as thoſe that come under the Character and Denomination of Juvenile Writers, are us'd to do; ſo that the Plainess of *Cicero*'s Diſcourſe, is more or leſs, according as the Subject requires.

His Metaphors are neither too dazling, nor too hard; his Diſcourſes run eaſie and natural; his Connexions neither forc'd nor far fetch'd; all his Figures and Ornaments rang'd in their proper Places; His Thoughts are great, and it is hard to determine whether he was more happy in chooſing or in expreſſing them. In fine, he never wanted in his Expreſſion any of thoſe Qualities that are requiſite in order to pleaſe or affect his Audience.

In ſhort, he had a greater Soul, more Wit and Fancy, and a larger Extent of Knowledge than *Demoſthenes*, and ſucceeded better in all the kinds of Writing. And St. *Auguſtin*, as Learned as he was, never ſpeaks, but with

Viluit mihi repente omnis vana ſpes, & immortalitatem ſapientiæ concupiſcebam æſtu incredibili. Confeſs. lib. 3. cap. 40.

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the greatest Admiration, of a Book which *Cicero* writ, upon the Love of Wisdom, which bears the Title of *Hortensius*; with which that great Father was so affected, that every thing else appear'd mean and despicable to him, having conceiv'd a most incredible Ardor, a most insatiable Eagerness for the Love of this Wisdom.

CHAP. XVII.

The Effects of Cicero's *Eloquence, and the Commendations that have been given of it.*

WE need not wonder then, that the Effects of so Accomplish'd an Eloquence were so wonderful; for it was that alone, which without any other help, but the Virtue of the Orator, rais'd him from a Man of no Note, and whose Ancestors had bore no Civil Offices, to the highest pitch of Grandeur, and made him Master of the Common-wealth. It was that, by which he deserv'd the most glorious Title, that ever any private Person cou'd hope to be honour'd with, and which all the Conquerors that went before him cou'd never attain too: For he was call'd, the Father of his Country; which is the most proper Title, to satisfie the Ambition of a Sovereign, who has a Soul great enough to give him a just pretence to an entire Mastery over the Spirits of Men, by establishing his Dominion in their Hearts. It was in fine this Eloquence, which triumph'd

Omnia incrementa sibi debuit vir novitatis nobilissimæ. Vel Pater. *Primus omnium parens patriæ appellatus.* Plin. Hist. l. 7. c. 30.

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triump'd over *Cæsar*, even then, when he return'd from Conquering *Pompey*; even then, when he began to ascend the Throne, and become Master of the greatest Empire in the World.

For *Cicero*, being now come over to *Cæsar*'s Party, undertook the defence of his Friend *Ligarius*, who was accus'd of having born Arms againſt *Cæsar*, notwithstanding the great Obligations he had to the contrary. *Cæsar*, who had already condemn'd him in his Heart, had yet a great Curiosity to hear what *Cicero* cou'd say in his defence, whom he had not had the opportunity of Hearing for a long time, by reason of his Absence and Business in the War, which was then just ended; and therefore, when some of his Friends wou'd have dissuaded him from it, his Answer was, *What matter is it? Let us hear him, for I have already enter'd upon a Resolution that is not to be shaken.* But this Orator spoke so bravely in the defence of his Friend, that he mov'd the Heart of *Cæsar*, notwithstanding all the Resistance he cou'd make. And *Cicero*, having mention'd something to *Cæsar*'s Praise, that happen'd in the Battel of *Pharsalia*; that Prince found a sudden and strange Commotion all over him, so that, as if he had been Enchanted, he let some Papers drop which he had in his Hands. In fine, he cou'd not resist such powerful Charms, nor that subtle Artifice, that fine and delicate Manner, which the Orator made use of to commend him; and though he had taken a firm Resolution before-hand, of not being overcome by the Eloquence of this powerful Orator, yet was he at last forc'd by his Rhetorick to pardon *Ligarius*.

Plutarch. in Cic.

Nihil solet obliviſci niſi injurias. Pro Lig.

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I mention not a Favour like this, which *Cicero* obtain'd for King *Deiotarus*, and for his Friend *Marcellus* of the same Emperor, who was so entire a Master of his own Resolutions, and so difficult to be perswaded to any thing. We need only look into the Comments *Freigius* has made, and that with wonderful Method, upon the Orations of *Cicero*, in order to give an Account of the particular Success of every one of them, to learn the Power of his Eloquence. But I pass by all the many Instances that may be given, to haste on to that Remarkable one of *Catilines*'s Conspiracy, by which he acquir'd so much Glory.

Lucius Sergius Catiline, was a *Roman* of great Quality, but of a very dangerous Spirit, by reason of an intimate Union of the greatest Virtues, with the greatest Vices. He had great Thoughts, and vast Designs, a hardned and obdurate Heart, a Soul confirm'd in Impiety, a strong and vigorous Constitution: He was temperate, very watchful, and always upon Action; never cast down by adverse Fortune, close and dissembling, by an Affectation of Frankness and Candor, subtle without the least appearance of Cunning, and never doing any thing without Design. He was Liberal of whatever he had even to Prodigality, and insatiably Covetous of what he had not. He had made himself Master of a sort of Eloquence, proper to harangue Malecontents with, and to colour over and maintain the most wicked Practices. He had an Art of promoting his Enterprizes, by engaging his Person for the consequence of any Undertaking; and there was nothing that he engag'd in, but he might have pursued more home, had he had but Conduct and Resolution enough

to

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to weary out the Obstinacy of his ill Fortune. For never was any Person more brave and daring, and at the same time more unfortunate than *Catiline*.

An Enemy of this Importance, who had engaged all the most considerable, and indeed the most extravagant part of the Youth of *Rome* on his side, started up against *Cicero*, at a time when *Pompey* was engaged in a long and troublesome War, against the Kings of *Pontus* and *Armenia*. So that *Rome* was then unprovided of Forces, and exhausted of all her Wealth by the Luxury of the Times; and most Peoples Minds and Affections, whom *Sylla*'s Dictatorship had lately shaken and disturb'd, were still Unsettled and Fluctuating.

In so cross a Conjuncture of Affairs as this, did this Turbulent Seditious Fellow, having found all *Tuscany* and great part of *Lombardy* inclineable to a Revolt, appear a Candidate for the Consulship, which he put up for, in the Name and upon the Credit of *Cæsar*, who had engag'd himself in this Design, the more to Countenance and Authorize him. These his Pretentions were likewise supported by several Persons of Quality, who declar'd themselves more openly than *Cæsar*; for that Prince understood so well, how to behave himself in Affairs of this Nature, which were generally very hazardous, that he never engag'd, but when he had Numbers to engage him; but when he saw so many already declar'd, as took away all possibility of Danger to himself, whatever happen'd; so that, tho' he had a share in most of the ill Practices that were put in Execution against the State in his Time, yet he chose his side with so much Caution and Prudence, that he never was surpriz'd in any one

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of the Conspiracies; and this made *Cato* say of him, *That of all those that had contriv'd any Plot against the State, Cæsar was the only One that came soberly to destroy the Commonwealth, the only One that endeavour'd its overthrow with Moderation and Conduct.*

Unum ex omnibus Cæsarem ad evertendam Rempublicam sobrium accessisse, Sent. in Jul. Cæsar

Cicero, had nothing to Oppose to this horrid Conspiracy, but the Power of his Eloquence, which alone brought it to nought, without any other Succours but what were supply'd him from a firm undaunted Resolution. For having made *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* the two chief of the Conspirators, that were then to be found in *Rome*, his Prisoners, he gave Orders to have them Beheaded before him. The People were so surpriz'd at this bold Action, that by the Advice of *Catulus*, who was then President of the Senate, together with that of *Cato*, they decreed such publick Honours to their Deliverer, as were beyond all Example. And it was upon this Account, that *Cicero*, by his unfeign'd Zeal and unshaken Courage, merited that Glorious Name, of *the Father of his Country*; which has since been the Proudest Title, with which the Vanity of Emperours has been much transported, and with which their Creatures have always flatter'd and cajol'd them. After so brave an Action, upheld and maintain'd by the whole Force of his Eloquence, all the Party was so dispirited, that *Catiline* was fain to quit *Rome*, the People beginning to be inflam'd with Indignation against him.

Non tantam Urbem fecit Romulus, quantam Cicero servavit. Tit. Liv. in Sen. Decl.

And upon the account of this glorious Action, *Rome* was more beholding to her Consul, as her Deliverer, than to *Romulus* as her Builder; seeing her Being first Founded, was a thing of meer Chance, but her Preservation, at such a critical juncture, was the effect of the most

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most Prudent and Generous Conduct that was ever known. The War which the Commonwealth engag'd in against *Antony*, who by reason of his Consulship, had grasp'd the whole Government into his Hands, and the Raising of young *Octavius*, were as wonderful Effects of *Cicero*'s Eloquence, as the Preservation of the State, from the Ruine it was threatned with by *Cataline's* Conspiracy.

And indeed, in this particular, this Orator did more than he himself intended: For he design'd nothing in raising *Octavius*, but the Destruction of *Antony*; but the great things he said in Commendation of the Virtues of that young Man, plac'd him so high in the Esteem and Value of the People, that it immediately rais'd him to greater degrees of Honour, than ever *Antony* enjoy'd; and that Advantage over *Pompey*, which cost *Cæsar* so much Blood in the Plains of *Pharsalia*, was not so great as that which *Cicero*'s Eloquence alone gave *Octavius* over *Antony*. For this young Man had so much Discretion, as to make use of *Cicero*'s Nomination of him for Consul, and of the Publick Employments he put him upon, as so many Steps and Advances to the Empire; a Design which *Cæsar* compass'd with so much Difficulty, tho' he had the most Experienc'd of the *Romans* Legions to assist him, and had the Command of the Forces of the greatest part of the World, who, Inspir'd by his Valour, might have been put upon any Attempt, in Favour of their Prince.

The Reputation of *Cicero*'s Eloquence was so great, when *Bestia* and *Metellus* were Tribunes, that both of them us'd their utmost Interest to hinder him from ever Speaking in Publick, because of the too great Power he had in Persuading.

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I shall not here stay, to transcribe at length the Opinion of all the Men of Learning, upon the Eloquence of this admirable Orator, which would be very tedious, when there are none but have eminenly signaliz'd themselves by the very Praises they have given of this great Man. But I cannot omit the Testimony of the two first *Cæsars*, and of some others which are too considerable to be pass'd by. *Julius Cæsar*, as *Quintilian* reports, says, that *Cicero Triumph'd oftner, by Virtue of his Eloquence, than all the rest of the Romans by their Arms.* *Augustus* in *Plutarch*, says, *that he was a very great Orator.* *Hortensius* assures us, that *Cicero*'s chief Talent lay in moving the Hearts of his Audience, which is the greatest Commendation that can be given an Orator. *Ausidius Bassus* say, that his Eloquence was so extaordinary, that *He seem'd Born for the Safety and Preservation of the Commonwealth.* *Titus Livius*, in a Fragment of his which we find in *Seneca*'s Declamations, says, *that never any Person had gain'd so much Admiration by his Eloquence as* Cicero; *that he was happy in his Works, and in the Recompence and Reward of them.* Paterculus, *that no one could be a Master of Eloquence to Perfection, but he that had been Conversant with* Cicero. *Pliny*, the Historian, *that no Body is to be compar'd to him.* *Quintilian*, amongst many other Commendations of him, with which his Books are full, declares, that *this great Man was a Gift sent from Heaven, in whom Eloquence took a delight to display all its Power, and to unfold all its Riches, and that it was a shame not to yeild, when he Persuaded.*

Vir natus ad Reipublicæ Salutem.

Delectari ante Eum pauciſſimis, mirari neminem verò poſſis, niſi aut ab Illo viſum, aut qui illum viderit. Hiſt. l. 1.

Extra omnem aleam ingenii poſitus. Hiſt. Nat. Proſ.

I mention not that Famous Epigram, which *Catullus* made in praise of *Cicero*'s Eloquence, nor what *Juvenal* says, in Commendation of him in his Eighth Satyr; *Martial* in the third

and

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and fifth Books of his Epigrams; *Cornelius Severus*, in his Poem, *Pliny* the younger in his Epistles, and St. *Jerome* in his Epistles to *Nepotian*, and in many other places of his Works. I shall pass over in silence, the Elogies of *Aurelius Victor*, *Cassiodorus*, and of an infinite Number of others, who have done themselves Immortal Honour, by the Praises they have given of this great Man. This is what I had to say in particular, what I had to remark more distinctly, of the different Characters of the Eloquence of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*. I come now to draw the Comparison between these two Characters, which is the Principal Design of the whole Discourse.

CHAP. XVIII.

A Comparison of the Characters of the two Orators.

BEfore we pretend to decide any thing, in order to Reconcile those that have declar'd themselves in Favour of either of these two Orators, it will be very proper to establish this undeniable Maxim, that, tho' every thing hath but one Metaphysical Truth, yet it may have several degrees of Perfection and Goodness, which may consist in very different Qualifications; and this is what may sufficiently Authorize the several Relishes of Men, and justify the various Judgments they make of things. For every Perfection may have in its kind, different Degrees, and be of a large Extent, but the Truth of it cannot admit of that Latitude,

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Latitude, which being a perfect Conformity of our Apprehensions to the Object, must of neneceſſity, be ſtill and for ever the ſame.

But, if this Maxim be found to be true in other things, it will prove much more ſo in Eloquence, which requires ſo great a number of different Qualities, in order to its Perfection. And this, without doubt, was the Reaſon, why *Cicero* makes *Brutus* obſerve, that tho' *Cotta* and *Sulpitius* were both Orators in Perfection, yet their Talents were vaſtly different. For *Sulpitius* his Sovereign Excellency, conſiſted in the Force and Vehemence of his Diſcourſe, whereas that of *Cotta* was all Sweetneſs and Gracefulneſs; whereupon, *Brutus* ſpeaking of them cries out, *O the admirable Art of Eloquence, which has ſo great an Extent of Perfection! for* Cotta *and* Sulpitius *were both of them accompliſh'd in their way, tho' each of them wanted ſome conſiderable Qualifications.* And this is what makes *Cicero* confeſs, *That there may be two accompliſh'd and perfect Orators, tho' they be of very different Characters.* Becauſe there are in Eloquence, as in all other things, Beauties of very different kinds.

O magnam, inquit, Artem? ſiquidem iſtis, cum ſummi eſſent Oratores, duæ res maximæ altera alteri defuit. Brut. *In oratoribus poſſunt eſſe ſummi, qui inter ſe diſſimiles ſint.* Ibid. *In aliis Dignitas oris, in aliis venuſtas.* Ibid.

So that, according to this Principle, we may judge between *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, without giving the Preference, either to one, or the other; and decide their Merit, without alotting the Prize to either; ſeeing both the one, and the other, are in their kinds Sovereignly Perfect. I ſhall therefore remark the Differences that may be obſerv'd in the Compariſon of theſe two great Perſons.

As for Invention, which is the firſt of thoſe Natural Qualities that are neceſſary to an Orator, it is difficult to determine, which of them had moſt, ſince they both were Eminent for

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or it, in so vast and elevated a Degree, and in so extraordinary a manner. But as the Fancy gives the Invention all those fine Turns, which so Beautify and Adorn it: so *Cicero*, having a more pleasant, and a more agreeable Imagination, had by consequence a finer Invention. Their Judgments seem to have been equally solid; there is nothing to be found in them that is either false, or built upon a wrong Foundation; all is Real and Substantial, and they both equally knew the Art of adding Eloquence to their Solidity, and strictly observ'd that Precept of *Aristotle*, in his Rhetorick, who teaches us, *that Persuasion is effected, by giving a Natural turn to the most common things.* And these common things are order'd by them both, in so excellent a manner, as can admit of no Exceptions.

Their Expressions are proper, pure, and neat, without the least Affectation. Tho' *Demosthenes*, by reason of the Copiousness of the *Greek* Tongue, allows himself a great deal of Harshness in his Words, which *Cicero* avoids, who keeps closer to the Purity of his Language. His way of Expression is more Modest, according to the Character of the *Latine* Tongue, and the Diction of *Demosthenes*, more Elegant and Delicate; but the Delicacy of *Cicero*, is neither soft nor effeminate, as *Seneca* observes. Both of them are equally strong and powerful in the Sublime, and in that Elevated way of Discourse, which *Longinus* treats of, and which he calls *the Image of a Great Soul.* Cap. 9.

Proprietas Demosthenes Græcos est. Quint. l. 12. c. 10.

Their Thoughts, and Expressions, are Strong and Noble, having nothing in them that is Creeping, or that is Flat and Insipid: And are always attended with a Character peculiar to them, always accompanied with a certain Air of Majesty, which so much distinguishes them from all other Orators. But

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But as the Genius of *Cicero* was more Universal than that of *Demosthenes*, and his Learning of a greater Extent, and his Character more general; so had he the Advantage over him, of leaving no kind of Eloquence unpractic'd, no Parts of Oratory, wherein he had not Exercis'd himself, as I observ'd before.

Demosthenes had confin'd himself to the Business of the State, and of the Bar, that is, to the Judiciary and Deliberative Parts of Eloquence, and scarce ever writ any thing in the Demonstrative. For the Commendations he gives *Chabrias* the General, in his Oration against *Leptinus*, are languid and faint, in Comparison of those which *Cicero* gave *Pompey*, in his Oration for the *Manilian* Law. *Libanius* also pretends, that the Funeral Oration upon those that were kill'd at *Cheronea*, which is to be found amongst *Demosthenes* his Works, is not his, because the Style of it is too low. He affirms the same of the Oration of Love, because it is too Soft and Effeminate, and not agreeable to his ordinary Style. *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, is also of the same Opinion, who likewise observes, that *Demosthenes* his Periods are very Round and Harmonious, and of a very regu- Number; in which *Cicero* comes not behind him in my Opinion.

Quorum Virtutes pleraſque arbitror similes, Concilium, ordinem dividendi, præparandi, probandi rationem, omnia denique quæ sunt Inventionis Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.

The design of the Discourse, the Order, Divisions and Arguments, and all that any way depend upon the Invention, are much alike in both these Orators; and that, because they both had resolv'd to follow no other Pattern, but that of Nature, which is the only Rule we must Govern our selves by in all these Matters, if we would Succeed; and as they both Proceeded upon the same Plan, so is there but little difference to be found between them, in relation

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lation to things of this Nature. Not but that in the Argumentations of *Cicero*, his Logick seems more Exact, and less Intricate than that of *Demosthenes*. It is also probable, that the Art of Syllogism, which *Cicero* had Studied with so much Application from *Aristotle's* Logick, was not so much in Practice in *Demosthenes* his Time, whose Argumentations being only plain Enthymemes, were more Natural, and more Agreeable to the Vehemency of his Passion, which was very Pressing and Urgent. And his Art of deducing particular Consequences from Universal Principles, which *Aristotle* reduc'd into a Method, and which *Freigius* has so well Collected out of *Cicero*, is much more Insinuating, and suitable to his manner of Writing.

Amidst these Resemblances, these are the chief Differences to be met with between these two Orators. *Demosthenes* always takes things in a higher Tone than *Cicero*, and is more Passionate; He is likewise more Grave and Serious, he sets about his Business resolutely, and Pursues things with Courage, without having any Respect of Persons, no not, tho' they were Crown'd Heads. As soon as ever he was got into his Office, he treated *Philip* with Scorn and Contempt, without the least regard, either to his Person or his Crown: Nay, he does at it were Degrade him, and Strip him of all his Honours, that he may treat him like a private Person, for he calls him *The Man of Macedonia*. He likewise delights sometimes, out of an Austerity of Morals, which was Natural to him, to humble the Pride and Haughtiness of the *Athenians*, who were so Jealous of their Authority. And as his Peevish Cholerick Temper was Visible in all he said,

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Riget Ejus Oratio, nihil in illâ placidum, nihil lene. Sen. Cont.

so did he give himself up so entirely to the impetuous Current of his Humours, that it was but very seldom that he was Cool, and without Passion, when he spoke. *His Discourse is Rough and Harsh, and never Smooth or Moderate.* *Cicero* is a greater Master of himself, and of all his Passions; he manages his Auditors to better Advantage, and takes more gentle Measures; he has nothing that is Rude, nothing that is Surly and Rough, but is pleasant and agreeable, even in his Anger and Indignation, and has the Art of pleasing in whatever he speaks. It was he that first made the *Romans* sensible of the Pleasures of Eloquence, as *Plutarch* observes of him in his Life, and that knew how to make that most delightful and pleasant, that was most Honest.

Demosthenes discovers in every Reason that presents itself to him, all that is Solid and Substantial in it; and has the Art of setting it forth in its full Strength and Vigour. *Cicero*, besides this Solidity, which never escapes him, does likewise lay hold on all that is agreeable and engaging, and never fails of his Aim in the pursuit of it. The Torrent of *Demosthenes* his Eloquence is so violent and rapid, his Reasonings so close and so numerous, his whole manner of Writing, has in it a height so like Rocks and Precipices, as *Longinus* expresses it, that it is great difficulty to follow him. Whereas *Cicero* forces his Auditors to go before him; he so moves the Minds of those he speaks to, and so affects their Hearts by his different Movements, that they guess before-hand what he has next to say, and in a manner prevent him. And when he first begins to speak of any thing, they find which way he tends by his Address, and by the Methods he makes use of,

Ἐνύψει τὸ πλέον ἀποτόμῳ.

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of, to let them know from whence he comes. So well he knew all the Springs and Turnings of the Heart of Man, and this was his great Art and chief Maſter-piece.

Thus, that we may diſtinguiſh the Characters of theſe two Orators by their real Differences, we may affirm, according to my Opinion of the Matter, that *Demoſthenes*, by the impetuouſneſs of his Temper, and the Force of his Arguments, and the Vehemence of his Pronunciation, was more preſſing than *Cicero*: As *Cicero*, by his ſoft and gentle way, by his ſmooth inſinuating and paſſionate Movements, and by all his Natural Graces, is more affecting than *Demoſthenes*. The *Greek* ſtruck upon the Mind, by the force of his Expreſſion, and the Ardour and Violence of his Declaiming: The *Roman* made his paſſage to the Heart, by certain pleaſing and imperceptible Charms, which were Natural to him, and which he had Adorn'd with all the Art Eloquence is capable of. One dazled the Mind, by the Splendour of his Lights, and brought a Diſorder upon the Soul, by ſurprizing the Underſtanding; and the Inſinuating Genius of the other, by pleaſing and delightful Paſſages, would ſlide into the very Heart. He had an Art of entring into the Intereſts, and of falling in with the Inclinations, Paſſions and Opinions of thoſe that heard him.

And in this Diſtinction, I believe, may be found the Explication of that Paſſage of *Longinus* in his Compariſon between *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, a Fragment of which is ſtill left, and which it would not be eaſie to underſtand, without the Light of this Obſervation. For, at firſt view, that Similitude of Lightning, which he makes uſe of to expreſs the Eloquence

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quence of *Demosthenes*, and that of a great Fire, to which he compares the Eloquence of *Cicero*, gives us no very distinct Idea of the Difference between their Characters. One would imagine, that he meant no more, than that the Eloquence both of the one and the other, was so Powerful, that nothing could resist it. *The* Sect. 11. *Eloquence of* Demosthenes, says he, *is a Whirlwind, and a Clap of Thunder, that overturns all things, and that of* Cicero, *like a great Fire, which devours all things.* So that Violence and Impetuousness make up the Character of *Demosthenes* his Eloquence; and the Progress of a great Fire, which advances by Degrees, together with the Heat and Insinuating Virtue of Fire, are the Principal Qualities of *Cicero's*. The *Grecian* breaks out like Thunder: The *Roman* warms and inflames like a great Fire. And therefore *Longinus* adds, that *Demosthenes* never fail'd of Success, when he was to strike Terror into the Minds of his Audience, and to work upon them, by strong Representations and violent Motions. But when it was necessary to go to the very Heart, and to Insinuate ones self into the Mind, by all those Graces and pleasing Charms, which Eloquence is Mistress of; then it was, that *Cicero's* Art was Triumphant, and that his diffus'd enlarged Discourse, succeeded far better than *Demosthenes* his more close and concise Style; and the one is no more prevalent by the Eclat, the surprizing Strength of his Reasons, than the other is by the warming and affecting Motions he raises.

We should have learnt much more of this Matter from this Judicious Critick, were the Place where he makes this Comparison but perfect and entire, but the greatest part of it is lost,

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lon, to the no small Dissatisfaction of his Interpreters. But however, he says enough to establish that Distinction I have made between their manner of Writing; which I find likewise conformable to *Plutarch*'s Opinion, who in his Comparison of these two Orators, says, that *Demosthenes is, throughout all, concise and close, and every where very pressing, without the least Ornament of Beauty, whilst* Cicero *scatters his Graces throughout his Discourse, and is every where pleasing and agreeable.* *Philostratus* in his Lives of the Sophisters, and *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* in his Epistle to his Friend *Ammæus*, pass the same Judgment on *Demosthenes*; and *Longinus* pretends, that he has always some thing hard in his Style. Sect. 28.

But in thus distinguishing between the different Qualities of the Eloquence of these two Orators, we must come to some Temperament, to some Agreement, and admit of a Limitation too: For *Cicero*, tho' he was generally moving and affecting, could not, when it was requisite, add to his Natural Sweetness, so much Passion and Indignation as his Subject requir'd, or the most Transported Spirit was capable of; as appears in the Orations he made against *Verres*, *Piso*, *Clodius*, *Vatinius*, *Catiline*, and *Antony*. *Demosthenes* likewise, is not so absolutely given to be Violent and Passionate, but that he can sometimes be as Soft and Gentle, as Moving and as Affecting, as we may see in some Passages of his *Olynthiacs*, in the Oration about the Liberty of the *Rhodians*, in the Defence of *Diophites*, and that of *Ctesiphon*, and in the Oration against *Midias*, tho' the Principal Character of this last is Vehemence. But seeing the Genius of *Demosthenes*, his Nature, his Art, his Austerity of Morals, and his Action, inclin'd

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him to be Pressing and Violent; and all the Natural Qualities of *Cicero*, were such as made him please and affect; I am of Opinion, that we may distinguish them by these two different ways of Writing, in which consist their Sovereign Perfection, and their Essential Character. And it was, without doubt, for this Reason, as much as out of Inclination and Compliance with the Natural Bent and Tendency of his Affections, that *Demosthenes* dealt more in Accusations than *Cicero*. For he hardly ever undertook the Defence of any one, his severe Humour leading him to the Direct contrary. And *Cicero* accus'd but very few Persons, for his Nature was more inclin'd to Sweetness, to Pity, and Compassion, and it was against his Will, whenever he accus'd any Man, as he himself tells us.

Yet *Cicero*'s Genius being more Universal than that of *Demosthenes*, he knew better how to turn himself to all things; how to Transform himself as he pleas'd, and to Act any Character. He understood likewise, by a secret Art peculiar to him alone, how far to urge and pursue a thing, when it was requisite to be very Pressing; which in my Opinion, *Demosthenes*, by indulging himself too much in the Bent of his Inclinations, did not observe, and in which it was very easy to exceed. For no Body delights in being continually Importun'd and Press'd, but every one is always dispos'd to be mov'd and affected with what is pleasing, and to be entertain'd with what is agreeable. And this was *Cicero*'s great Talent, who always pleases, and by the Pleasure he affects us with, inspires into us what Sentiments he will. It is this agreeable Air, which being diffus'd, and spread through all he says,

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conſtitutes that ſweet obliging and engaging Eloquence, which has ſuch powerful Charms.

But beſides that *Demoſthenes* had nothing in his Nature, that was tender and compaſſionate, but was all Harſhneſs and Severity, the Laws of his Country prohibited him from making uſe of any thing that was moving and affecting, as I have before obſerv'd. So that he was cold and languid in his Perorations, which are commonly no more than plain Concluſions of what he was about, or at beſt, but ſo many meer Wiſhes, ſo many Vows and ſolemn Supplications for the Glory and Intereſt of his Country, which he made with Fervency, to give ſome kind of Life and Vigour to the Concluſions of his Diſcourſes.

CHAP. XIX.

Which of the two ways of Writing is the beſt in order to perſuade.

IT will be no hard Matter, by what I have remark'd upon Eloquence in general, to determine, which of the two ways of Writing ſo remarkable in theſe two Authors, is the moſt preferable.

The Orator who perſuades moſt, is, without all doubt, the moſt Eloquent. And being we perſuade but in proportion as we pleaſe, the Art of Perſuaſion being one and the ſame with that of Pleaſing, as *Quintilian* obſerves; we may venture to affirm, that *Cicero*, who pleaſes more than *Demoſthenes*, ought, in this particular at leaſt, to be eſteem'd more Eloquent than he.

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And if there be a double Art of Persuasion, one that works upon the Mind and Understanding, and another upon the Heart and Will; we may proceed to examine, which is the most proper for Eloquence.

The Persuasion of the Understanding is effected by a dazling Lustre of much Light, and by a violent Impulse of Reasons, which the Mind cannot resist. It works in a certain Elevated Manner, and with such a Force and Violence, as surprizes and confounds the Faculties, according to the Observation of *Aristotle*. But the Persuasion of the Heart, is produc'd by those Graces and pleasing Charms, which captivate the Will, and entertain it so delightfully, that it is pleas'd in forsaking its own Resolutions, and in losing its Liberty. For as the Understanding does not assent to any thing but the Evidence of Reason, and is guided only by those Lights, which are most illuminating, so neither can the Will yield it self to any thing, but what is most agreeable and most pleasing. It never ceases to act voluntarily in submitting its Liberty to the Pleasure that carries it away, because in that it follows the Bent of its own Inclination, which is to be pleas'd.

It is enough, that one have ones Senses in due order, to be mov'd at the Heart; but no one can be persuaded in his Understanding, unless he enjoy his Reason in Perfection, that is, is able to understand the Force of a Consequence. So that the Orator, that makes it his chief Business to please, in order to persuade, goes a surer way to work than he who strives to do it only by Conviction, because every body is capable of being affected with what is pleasant.

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It is without doubt for this Reason, that, according to the Opinion of *Cicero*, the Multitude are better Judges of Eloquence, than the Learned. For besides that, the People are not prepossest with those Sentiments and Notions, about which the Learned World dispute, they judge, as we may say, according to the Heart; which is less Subject to be impos'd upon than the Understanding, which suffering it self to be dazled with false Lights, is liable to take things otherwise than they really are: whereas, the Heart, which judges only according to what it feels, cannot be mistaken; for 'tis impossible it shou'd have any impression made upon it, but from what is really and actually in the very thing it self it receives it from. Only natural and true Beauties affect this, when false and apparent ones please the Understanding, whose Relish of things is not so pure and uncorrupted as that of the Heart.

Quod probat multitudo, idem doctis probandum Cic. in Brut.

And this Eloquence, which works upon the Understanding, is no more than a bare simple Instruction, not a true Rhetorick, like that which *Socrates* mentions in *Plato*. And though there be some Minds on which nothing will work but the Force of Reason, and which must be convinc'd before they can be persuaded; yet I think it not proper to be always pressing and urging; for certain it is, that we are more willing to yield our selves up to an easie and gentle, than to a fierce and haughty Conqueror. And this is the Reason why *Homer*, who makes his *Nestor* a Master of Eloquence in Perfection, gives him Sweetness as the Principal Character of his Eloquence.

Cui Socrates non docendi, sed persuadendi facultatem tribuit. Quintil. l. 2. c. 15.

However, that Eloquence which works upon the Understanding, has more glorious Effects, than that which affects the Heart. A

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Heart that is affected, is no such Subject for the Triumph of an Orator, as a convicted Mind, as the Understanding humbled and brought into Subjection; and that kind of Perfuasion, that strikes upon that, makes a more lasting Impression, because that Reason which gave the stroke, still continues the same. But that which touches the Heart, vanishes with the Heat of that Passion that produc'd it, because all things that proceed from Passion, are very transient. In fine, as the Opposition made by the Understanding, is overcome with greater Difficulty than that Resistance we meet with from the Will, so is Passion less powerful to persuade than Reason.

Nihil citius arescit Lacryma. l. 6. c. 1.

This Tempestuous sort of Eloquence, which, *Aristotle* says, causes trouble and confusion in our Minds, by subverting our Opinions, and subduing our Reason, never begins its Marches but with Noise and Tumult, its Stroaks dazle and surprize like Lightning, and smite like Thunder; it is like those Whirlwinds which overturn the tallest Trees with as great ease as the low and humble Reed. Such was *Demosthenes* his Eloquence, who had the Art of making himself Master of the Minds and Affections of the most fierce, inconstant, and untractable People, that ever was in the World. This mutinous Populacy, jealous of the Merits of any one that distinguish'd himself in their Commonwealth, did submit their Reason to that of *Demosthenes*, who forc'd them to bend under the Weight and Pressure of so great and irresistable Power and Authority. The Truth is, the Eloquence of *Cicero* charms the Mind, but the Oratory of *Demosthenes* astonishes it, the one commands our Love and Admiration, the other our Fear and Obedience. After all, 'tis very

1 Rhet. c. 2.

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very hard to determine which is of the greatest Advantage to an Orator. Were I to speak to Persons of a superior Order to my self, I shou'd chuse to please like *Cicero*; if to People of an inferiour Rank, I shou'd fright them like *Demosthenes*. However, since this Distinction which I have made between these two Orators, will not decide the Controversie, nor give either of them the Preference; I shall leave the Debate to the Management of those who have so good an Opinion of themselves, as to think themselves able to engage in it; and only add a Word or two out of *Sidonius*, which does more particularly, and more exactly, point out the real Difference there is betwixt them. They are in an Epistle to a Friend of his call'd *Claudian*, who was Brother to *Mamercus* Bishop of *Vienna*, where he says, speaking of Eloquence, *That he is violent and passionate like* Demosthenes, *and perswades like* Cicero.

Trascitur ut Demosthenes, persuadit ut Tullius. l. 3. c. 4.

Before I conclude this Comparison, I cannot omit the Opinion of *Mounsieur De Vair*, Keeper of the Seal; who having translated into our Language the Oration of *Demosthenes* for *Ctesiphon*, and that of *Cicero* for *Milo*; which he look'd upon as the Master-pieces of those two Orators, without entring into the Dispute about Preference, in which he desir'd to be excus'd, ventures however to say, in his Discourse upon Eloquence, that *Cicero*'s is better proportion'd, and more suitable and agreeable to our Humours and Tempers, than that of *Demosthenes*. I cannot think this Critick to have been in the right in this Matter. For besides, that those bitter and cruel Invectives, with which the *Greeks* were us'd to treat one another in their Accusations, extreamly wound the Sweetness and Civility that is natural to our Nation; we have Hearts

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too tender, and too quick a Sense of things, than not to be affected with the moving Eloquence of *Cicero*, rather than the hard and dry Oratory of *Demosthenes*, which has nothing of Passion in it, nothing that is soft and tender; not to mention an infinite Number of other Disproportions, as the violent Pronunciation of *Demosthenes*, and his excessive Transports, his bold Figures, and those passionate and animated Apostrophes, and frequent Invocations of the Sun, Stars, Rivers, and Fountains, together with his swearing by Inanimate things, as also those dry and barren Reasonings devoid of all the Graces and Ornaments of Art; and in short, his whole Manner of writing, which is very irreconcileable with the Taste and Relish we have of things of this Nature; *Cicero*, being more according to our Palates, and more agreeable with our Genius.

I have been the longer in displaying the Essential Differences of these two Characters, that I might do it with the greater Exactness. The Comparison of the other Qualities of their Eloquence, as it is more easie to be made, so may it be drawn in a less Compass. There appears in *Demosthenes* his Art, more Care and Pains; but in *Cicero*'s more Agreeableness; he allowing himself a larger Extent in his Amplifications, and a greater Compass in his Orations, as the Grandeur of the Theater, on which his Eloquence appear'd, which was the Metropolis of the World, did require: Whereas *Demosthenes* seems to have proportion'd himself to the Fortune of the People he spoke to. But both *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, arriv'd to such a height of Perfection, the one, in his close Concise and Compacted; and the other, in his Extended and Diffus'd way of Writing; that

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that *Quintilian* says, *Nothing can be taken from the one, nor added to the other.*

Huic nihil detrahi potest, illi nihil adjici. L. 10. c. 1.

It must be confess'd after all, that *Demosthenes* his Reasonings, are stronger and closer than *Cicero's*; and that, upon the Account of a Great Soul and an Exalted Spirit, he was capable of none but Great and Noble Subjects, such as that of fitting out a Fleet against the King of *Persia*; of reducing the State into order, and putting it into a Method of deliberating upon Articles of Peace; of the Liberty of the *Rhodians*; of the Supplies that ought to be sent to the neighbouring People against *Philip*; and of all the most important Affairs of *Greece*. So, that he cou'd not enter upon any thing of less moment and concern for the Subject of his Orations, his elevated Soul disdaining to stoop lower; which *Cicero*, out of the Universal Extent of his Abilities, and a boundless Fancy, which he cou'd proportion to things of little Consequence, as well as to those of greater Moment, wou'd not stick at. His Discourse is able to support it self by its own proper Weight in every part, whereas that of *Demosthenes* requir'd sometimes to be made out and maintain'd by his Action, which was the very Life and Soul of it. The *Roman* Orator was timorous when he spake in Publick; the *Grecian*, bold and confident, though he was once out of countenance in speaking to *Philip*. *Demosthenes* was so positive and affirming, and so full of his Asseverations, that he wou'd be always thought to be in the right; but *Cicero*, was content to make it appear that he was so. *Demosthenes*, was but seldom known to aim at Wit; but it was so natural to *Cicero* to be facetious, that he was pleasant and diverting even in his Misfortunes, only during his Exile, his pleasant Humour

Quorundam probatio sola in Asseveratione. Quintil. c. 2. l. 4. Instit.

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mour was all in disorder. The *Roman* was of a very personable Presence, he had a comely Face, and a good clear loud Voice. The *Grecian* was not disagreeable in Person, but the Heat and Violence of his Action, made up for the want of all other Exterior Qualities. The Truth is, he spake with more Life and Vigour, and *Cicero* with more Sweetness and Grace. In fine, though according to the Principles of Eloquence, I establish'd before I enter'd upon the Distinction of their two Characters; I find, that *Demosthenes* his Air in general, is more Majestick than that of *Cicero*; and that *Cicero*'s is more pleasing than that of *Demosthenes*; yet if we consider the Circumstances of Time, Persons and Affairs, we cannot but conclude, that both these Orators were most perfectly Accomplish'd, each in his kind; and that it was utterly impossible they shou'd have been such Masters of their Art, but upon the Account of the different ways they took, as most suitable with the Temper and Disposition of their Auditory. This was their peculiar Excellency, and the great Advantage of their Eloquence was founded upon a perfect and entire Knowledge, which they had of the Humours of the People with whom they treated, and upon the Art they had of accommodating themselves to their Genius; so that one wou'd imagine that *Rome* and *Cicero*, and that *Athens* and *Demosthenes*, were made for one another; and that never any third Person arriv'd to that Sovereign Degree of Perfection, to which these two great Men were advanc'd. But seeing the two different ways they took, do constitute two different kinds of Eloquence, I shall leave it to those that better understand these things, to decide which of the two is the most

Orationis differentiam feciſſe, & dicentium & audientium naturæ videntur. Quintil. l. 12. c. 9.

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most Preferable. Yet to make a fuller Eclaircissement of this Matter, I shall proceed to explain the remaining Difficulties upon this Subject.

CHAP. XX.

A Resolution of some remaining Difficulties, by way of Conclusion to this Discourse.

THE first Difficulty that presents it self in this Comparison, is a certain Passage in *Quintilian*, whose Suffrage is very considerable in this Case, which he had so diligently examin'd into. For seeing, he pretends that *Demosthenes* was the Model, by which *Cicero* was Form'd; he seems to give the former, a great Advantage over the latter. These are his express Words: Cicero *must yield to* Demosthenes, *who was the Original, from whence was copied this most perfect and accomplish'd Piece.* The Truth is, this Commendation of *Demosthenes* is so glorious, that I do not know, but that *Quintilian* has said more than he thought. For this Critick, after having exalted *Cicero* above all Orators, seems by this Criticism, very much to debase him, and place him in a Rank below *Demosthenes.* I can scarce be persuaded, that after the Observations we have made, all People will agree in his Opinion; I say, I can scarce believe, that this Orator, who was the Oracle of *Rome*, the Mistress of the World, and who never open'd his Mouth, but to surprize

Cedendum verò in hoc quòd ille & prior fuit, & Ciceronem, quantus est, magnâ ex parte fecit. L. 10. c. 1. Inst.

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prize with all his Charms, and to enslave the most free People that ever was; that this wonderful Genius of his Age, this Prodigy of his time, for the Extent and Universality of his Abilities, and for the Penetration of his Discerning Faculties, ought in the least to yield to *Demosthenes*, upon the Account that he was his Model.

For if *Demosthenes* himself, has out-done *Pericles*, in *Lucian*'s Opinion, though he took him for his Pattern; if he has effac'd the Glory of *Thucydides*, of whom he was so exact an Imitator, as the Orator *Ulpian* his most faithful Interpreter relates; what shou'd hinder us from believing, but that *Cicero* has at least equall'd *Demosthenes*? hath not *Aristotle*, surpass'd *Plato*? though *Plato*, was the Model of *Aristotle*? Did not that great Artist in Painting, *Raphael Santi*, quite obscure the Reputation of *P. Perusinus*, who was his Master? And do we not find by daily Observation, that Persons of extraordinary Parts, do in all Arts and Sciences, far exceed those from whom they receiv'd their first Instructions?

Imitemur Demosthenem.

But *Cicero*, does not disown, but that he propos'd to himself *Demosthenes* for his Pattern, but cou'd never arrive to that Perfection he strove to imitate in him. This is what I do not deny, for this great Man, as he was something Vain, so he had sometimes some fits of Modesty, but they lasted not long, as appears on this occasion. For in another place, he expresses his Disgust, as much against *Demosthenes*; when he declares, that he is not satisfied with him. And besides, he propos'd *Demosthenes* for his Imitation, only upon the Account of that Force and Vehemence, which he so admires in this great Man; and which, the Truth

Usque eo morosi sumus, ut non satisfaciat Ipse Demosthenes.

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Truth is, he did hardly ever arrive to. Neither do I know, whether he ever desir'd it or no; for those that can Charm, and be Agreeable when they please, are not so much inclin'd to be Terrible and Violent as often as they can. But *Quintilian* decides this Matter, in saying, that *Cicero was powerful like* Demosthenes, *Copious like* Plato, *and Pleasing like* Isocrates.

Videtur Cicero vim effinxisse Demosthenis, Copiam Platonis, jucunditatem Isocratis. L. 10. C. 1.

The second Difficulty we meet with, is an Expression in *Longinus*, concerning *Demosthenes*; which perhaps, the Abettors of this great Man will not so well approve of; *Longinus*, in the Comparison he makes between *Hyperides* and *Demosthenes*, says, That *Demosthenes* understood not the Tempers of Men so well, as to be Master of the Art of moving the Passions, in which Eloquence makes the greatest Figure, and displays it self in its full Power. The Truth is, we cannot but agree with him in this, that he was not very well acquainted with the different Motions of the Soul, nor with that Morality of the Heart, which *Aristotle* explains in his Rhetorick, a Book *Demosthenes* never saw; whatever *Lucian*, as exact as he pretends to be, and *Aulus Gellius*, who is no inconsiderable Author, may urge to the contrary. For it is evident, that *Aristotle* writ not that Book, till he was pretty well advanc'd in Years; and after having studied under *Plato* above twenty Years, without declaring himself on the side of any of those Sects of Philosophers, which were then in vogue at *Athens*, and without ever so much as Teaching.

It is likewise no less Evident, that *Demosthenes* spoke all his most considerable Orations before *Lysimachides* was Prætor, and that *Aristotle* writ his Books of Rhetorick some time after. Nay, he does there make some kind of indirect

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Ἡ τοῦ Δημοσθένους δίκη.

rect mention of the Oration for *Ctesiphon*, in these Words, *as to the Matter of* Demosthenes, which the Orator spoke Nine Years after the *Chersonesian* War, Eight after the Death of *Philip*, and about the time of the Victory which *Alexander* won at *Arbela*. This is the Opinion of *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, in his Epistle to *Ammeus*; and the Reputation this Author hath of being a very exact and careful Chronologer, does render his Suffrage much more considerable. And *Diogenes Laertius* observes, that *Alexander* commanded *Aristotle* to let no one see his Books of Rhetorick, besides himself, that he might reserve entirely to himself alone, the enjoyment of so great a Treasure; *Plutarch* relates the very same thing.

So then, we have no great Reason to wonder, that *Demosthenes*, in the Opinion of *Longinus*, was no better vers'd in the Knowledge of the Manners and Tempers of Men, seeing he could not come to the Sight of that Treatise *Aristotle* has made of them in his Rhetorick, in which he has very exactly explain'd the whole Mystery. And in this, *Cicero* had a very great Advantage over *Demosthenes*, for he drew all that perfect Knowledge he had in things of this Nature, from this great Source and Original. I shall not stay to Examine the Reasons, why some pretend, that *Aristotle* deriv'd the Precepts of his Rhetorick from the Practice of *Demosthenes*, because they have no Foundation. There would have been some Pretence for this Conjecture, had *Demosthenes* been the only Orator *Aristotle* had heard, but he was an Auditor of *Hyperides*, *Demades*, *Lycias*, *Phocion*, *Eschines*, *Python*, and several others. He had likewise some Acquaintance with *Isæus* and *Isocrates*, not to mention *Plato*, whom he had thoroughly searched

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ſearched into. From all theſe great Models, and from the Reflections he had made on them himſelf, he drew that admirable Plan of Rhetorick, which he has left us, and which ought rather to be Meditated upon, than read like his other Works. For it is an invaluable Treaſure, which to ſearch deep into, will be found to be the beſt Advice upon all accounts, for thoſe that are to ſpeak in Publick. But as it is very probable, that *Cicero* underſtood the Heart of Men better than *Demoſthenes*, having learnt that Art ſo well from *Ariſtotle*; ſo in compenſation for that Diſadvantage, *Demoſthenes* underſtood better the Intereſt of his own, and the Neighbouring Nations, than *Cicero* did that of all the Allies of the Empire. The Ambition of *Philip*, which divided all *Greece*, by many dark Deſigns, and ſecret Practices, had taken up for a long time, the whole Thoughts of *Demoſthenes*, for this he made his particular Study, and his only Employment; this he reſolutely ſet himſelf upon, and the perfect Knowledge he had of the violent Proceedings of that Prince, gave him an opportunity of ſhowing to the beſt Advantage, how every Nation had a particular Intereſt in Oppoſing Unanimouſly the growing Greatneſs of the Haughty *Macedonian*. And this did exceedingly recommend his Eloquence, and that upon the Account of thoſe Great and Noble Repreſentations he made of the Publick Good, and of thoſe frequent Reaſonings drawn from Politicks, with which moſt of his Diſcourſes abound, and which are ſo effectual in his Orations, the Subjects of which, are always either great in themſelves, or made ſo by a peculiar Art he had, of bringing into his Harangues Affairs of the greateſt Importance. So that

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Non possumus esse tam graciles, sumus fortiores: subtilitate vincimur, valeamus pondere. l. 12. c. 20.

that Power and Weight, that Force and Energy, which *Quintilian* seems to ascribe to the *Romans*, above the *Greeks*, to whom he yeilds the Preference, as to the Graces and Beauties of Writing, is not in my Opinion to be understood of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* in particular, but of the Genius of the People in general, and of the Excellencies of both Languages. For the *Greek* Tongue is more delightful and pleasant, and the *Latine* more grave and serious.

The last Difficulty would be, to give satisfaction to the Criticks, by drawing a Parallel between the best Passages in *Demosthenes* his Orations, and those in *Cicero*'s, which would indeed, be a going to the Bottom of the Matter in Dispute, and Pursuing the Comparison as far as it will go: but to this there are three Objections. First, that there is nothing more difficult, than to agree upon which are the best Passages in these two Orators; the Palates of the Men of Judgment, being so vastly different in things of this Nature. Secondly, that were we agreed upon these Places, yet, they must either be Translated into our Language, that the Comparison may be just, or else remain in their own, from both which, many Inconveniencies would arise.

For as every Language hath a particular Character, and certain Beauties peculiar to it self, which cannot possibly be expres'd in any other, it would be an Undertaking of no small Difficulty to do Justice to both Languages, by a particular Translation; and it would be no less than a Degradation to the Grandeur of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, to Translate them into any Modern Language.

Lastly, It may be replied, that *Lipsius*, in several places of his Works, hath already made

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a Comparison of the most admir'd Passages in these two Authors, and that Father *Causinus* has likewise done the same in his Parallel of Eloquence, but neither of them with any success, for the Reasons above-mention'd.

So that it would not only be an Argument of great Imprudence and Indiscretion, but also a thing of no Use or Advantage, to venture upon the like Attempt, after the Miscarriage of two such eminent Men. For those Passages cannot be taken out from the rest of the Discourse, without being spoil'd of their greatest Beauties, which generally consist only in the exact Proportion they bear in the other Parts. It ought to be in a Discourse as in a Pile of Buildings; the Majesty and Grandeur, and Beauty of which, consists in a general Uniformity.

The truth of this will appear from that admirable Passage of *Demosthenes*, in his Oration for *Ctesiphon*, which is so extol'd by all the great Masters of Eloquence; where he says, *No, it is not so, I swear by the Ashes and Manes of those brave Men, that were kill'd at the Battel of* Salamis *and of* Marathon, *&c.* Where the Orator displays all that is Great and Glorious in Eloquence, in its full Lustre, and which indeed is admirable, if it be well consider'd. But it is quite another thing, when taken from its proper place, and view'd without regard to what goes before, for the Beauty of it consists in a dependance upon the other parts, and in a just Proportion to the rest. The same may be said of that Passage in *Cicero*, which *Quintilian* so much commends in the Oration for *Milo*; *Vos Albani Tumuli atque luci, vos inquam imploro, atque obtestor: vosque Albanorum obrutæ aræ*, &c. and the like Judgment may we form

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of several other places in this Orator. But those that have the Curiosity to draw the Comparison, may be satisfied in Opposing *Demosthenes* his *Philippics* to *Cicero's*: for the Subject and the Method, in which they treat of it, are much the same; so that they can in no respect be better compar'd.

And in order to form an exact Judgment between these two Orators, it may be enough to observe the most Essential parts of their Characters, without descending to a long and tedious Re-search, which is altogether Foreign to my Design. For it was not my Purpose to Write for the satisfaction of Pedants and Grammarians, who love to Examine things with a Critical Nicety, and Spin them out to the finest Thread, in which they make themselves ridiculous. And 'tis very probable, they will be the only Persons, that will think this Matter not sufficiently clear'd. But, however I may venture to assure my self, that Men of Learning will be of another Opinion, and judge, that I have said enough to furnish out a Scheme or Model, by which any one may be able to make an Estimate of the rest.

To conclude, as I am far from being so vain, as to Value my self upon the Reflections I have made upon these two Orators, so I would by no means conceal the Authors form whence I gather'd them, because it may stamp some Authority upon them. I acknowledge therefore, that I have Advanc'd nothing in relation to *Demosthenes*, but what I receiv'd from the most Learned Writers of Antiquity, who knew him best, such as were, amongst many others, *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, *Hermogenes*, *Plutarch*, *Longinus*, *Lucian*, *Cicero*, *Quintilian*, and *Photius*. As for *Cicero*, tho' I may pretend to

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a particular Acquaintance with him my ſelf, yet I choſe rather to rely on the Judgments of *Seneca*, *Plutarch*, *Quintilian*, *Longinus*, and the Hiſtorians of his own Time, than to my own Sentiments of the Matter. As what I have ſaid of theſe great Men, is not without ſome Foundation, ſo I am willing to perſuade my ſelf, that by theſe Obſervations, I may poſſibly have contributed to their being known after another manner, than they uſually are. And it may be, this Diſcouſe will not be unſerviceable to thoſe that have a Love and Affection for Eloquence, in order to re-imprint upon their Minds, the Idea of this Noble Art, from the Impreſſions that may be taken from the greateſt Characters of it that ever were; and it may be of ſignal Uſe and Advantage to be now and then thus reminded, that we may frame our ſelves after ſuch Great and Noble Patterns. Some may alſo diſcover perhaps, from this Diſcourſe, the direct Paths that lead to the Attainment of Eloquence, by treading in theſe, thoſe great Men have already gone in; and the Portraictures I have given of them, may prove the Criterions, by which we may know, who are the *Demoſthenes*'s and the *Cicero*'s of our Age, if there be any.

A COMPARISON OF HOMER and VIRGIL.

CHAP. I.

Of the Value of the two Poems of Homer *and* Virgil.

OF all the Performances Man is capable of, an *Epick Poem* is, beyond diſpute, the moſt Perfect and Accompliſh'd; in regard, that it involves all the Excellencies of all others. This is the general Opinion, of all the Men of Learning; though *Ariſtotle*, gives the Preference to Tragedy; becauſe, the Parts of it are of a leſs Extent, and bearing a more juſt and limited Proportion, it excites a leſs languiſhing Pleaſure. However, notwithſtanding this, it may be affirm'd, that thoſe other Advantages, in which an *Heroick* Poem exceeds a *Dramatick*, are ſo conſiderable, and ſo univerſally acknowledged to be ſuch, that there is no Perſon but what

Ariſt. Poet. C. 26.

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what is convinc'd, that it is the moſt excellent and moſt tranſcendent Piece of all Humane Productions. So that the Poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, being, by the Conſent of all Ages, the moſt Perfect that ever appear'd in that kind of Writing; to judge which ought to have the Preference of the other two, is, in my Opinion, to decide the moſt important Queſtion that can be advanc'd in Matters of Learning, and peremptorily to determine, which is the moſt Sublime and moſt Perfect. For none yet ever equall'd the ſublime and lofty Genius of theſe two great Men. And, if we may rely upon the Opinion of *Quintilian*, the moſt Judicious of all the Criticks, there is nothing comparable to *Homer* and *Virgil*. Having given a Character of *Homer*, after the moſt exact Manner; he concludes, that none but one of the moſt enlarg'd Faculties and ſublime Parts, one of the moſt exalted Soul, can comprehend his Merit. He ſays ſtill more than all this, in Praiſe of *Virgil*.

Ut magni ſit viri, virtutes ejus non æmulatione, quod fieri non poteſt ſed intellectu ſequi. L. 10. c. 1. Inſtit.

This is likewiſe the Judgment of one of the moſt Learned Criticks of theſe later Ages, who ſtiles theſe two Authors, the two Generals and Sovereigns of all the Sciences: Not to mention the great Approbation, they have met with from two of the moſt Learned and moſt Judicious Princes that ever were. For *Alexander*, to do juſt Honours to *Homer*'s *Iliad*, plac'd it amongſt his Jewels, in that rich and admirable Cabinet of *Darius*'s, which he found amongſt the Spoils after the Defeat, ſaying, that he cou'd not think of a more proper Repoſitory for a work ſo Valuable, for a Piece the moſt Exquiſite that ever the Wit of Man cou'd contrive. And *Auguſtus* gave a remarkable Inſtance of the great Value and Eſteem he had

Duo illi omnis Doctrinæ apices, Homerus & Virgilius. Caſaub. præf. in Perſ.

Ut pretioſiſſimum animi humani opus, quam maximè diviti opere ſervaretur. Plin. c. 29. l. 7.

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for the Aeneid above all other things, by the Impatience he shew'd, and the Uneasiness he was under of seeing it while *Virgil* was alive, and by the Care he took of it after his death. But not to insist, I say, upon the Authority of these two Great and Learned Princes, it may be affirm'd, that there were never any two Persons of equal Merit celebrated with more general Applause, than these two great Genii have ever been; and there has not been known, ever since their first Appearance in the World, throughout that whole Tract of time, any one Person that has dar'd Dispute their Merit, without doing great dishonour to himself, and by so irrational a Presumption, betraying his own Weakness and Ignorance.

Qui Homerum contemnunt, vix illis optari quidquam pejus potest, quam ut fatuitate suâ fruantur. Casaub. differt. de Homero.

CHAP. II.

After what manner we ought to consider these two Poems, in order to make a right Judgment of them.

IN examining the Poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, I shall not spend any time in speaking of their Persons, and the Circumstances of their Lives, because we know little or nothing of the Person of *Homer*; only, that he undertook a Voyage into *Egypt*, to study the Sciences under that People, who were the first Masters of Learning in the World, as *Diodorus Siculus* assures us, in the first Book of his History. *Appion* brags in *Pliny*, that he had, by Enchantments, call'd up the Ghost of *Homer*, to be

Appion prodidit se evocasse umbras ad percontandum Homerum, qua patria esset, &c. Plin. l. 30. c. 2.

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be inform'd, what Country he was of. But in vain, for we are ſtill in doubt as to that point. However, I may venture to ſay, that of all the Wiſe and Learned Men of Anquity, *Homer* alone, ſeems to me the moſt Admirable, and the moſt Incomprehenſible. He was the firſt Maſter, and the firſt Model of Learned Men. He was both a Philoſopher and an Orator, giving us both the Precepts of Philoſophy and Eloquence. We cannot learn who were his Parents, what his Country, where he Studied, or where he Liv'd: There is nothing in all reſpects ſo great a Myſtery, as this great Man. The Philoſophy which *Plato* has given us, in his Treatiſe upon the Soul, which is his beſt Piece, was not ſo much taken from the *Ægyptians*, as *Jamblicus* and *Porphyry* pretend, as from *Homer*; we have no Author ſo Ancient as this Poet, except only *Moſes*. He has been ſo Modeſt, as to ſay nothing of himſelf, of his Country, or the Times he liv'd in; a piece of Juſtice ſo due to ones ſelf, that no one elſe ever omitted it. As for *Virgil*, we have learnt ſomewhat more of him; we know that being a Perſon of mean Birth, he wrought himſelf into Favour with *Auguſtus*, to whom he made his Court. We cannot but read his Life in *Servius*, and his other Commentators; ſo, that I ſhall now confine my ſelf to the Poems of theſe two great Authors, for 'tis from their Works, that the Compariſon is to be made.

Amongſt the Learned of theſe later Ages, that have pretended to give their Opinion upon the Poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, and to draw the Parellel between them; the moſt conſiderable are, *Macrobius*, *Julius Scaliger*, and *Fulvius Urſinus*. But as they have examin'd thoſe Pieces meerly as *Grammarians*, ſo they have

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fail'd in a right Judgment of them, by making their Reflections upon the exterior and superficial Parts only, without giving themselves the trouble of searching to the Bottom. This Default, hath, in a great measure, hindred the Learned from passing a right Judgment upon them; and the Prejudice they conceiv'd and cherish'd in Favour of *Homer*, hath perfectly surpriz'd and confounded all those that made pretensions to a Share in the Glory of being thought Learned. For it is very well known, that those that affect the Reputation of Men of Learning, look upon the declaring their Opinion in Favour of *Homer*, and giving him the Preference to *Virgil*, as a great piece of Honour done to themselves, and what is enough to make them considerable in the World; because a Judgment like this, argues them to be Men of Sense. And as there is indeed requir'd a more profound Knowledge of things, a greatter share of Learning, in order to Form a Judgment of *Homer*, than of *Virgil*; so Men think themselves more distinguish'd from the common Sort, and that they have given the World a true Taste of their Parts and Abilities, by giving the Preference to the one before the other.

This is a Prejudice a Man ought to take great care to rid himself well of, let his Parts be what they will; because, sometimes People are better able to Judge of things, when they themselves think they are not, which is assuming to themselves an Authority they have no Title to. For Presumption commonly deprives the Mind of the Liberty of Judging impartially, and with that Indifference, that is requisite in order to make a true Judgment. This is the Course I design to take, to prevent all Preju-

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dice in the Liberty I ſhall uſe of Judging upon an Examination, of what will occur on this Subject. And here I declare, that I pretend to no more than barely to give you my Obſervations and Remarks upon the Poems of theſe two Authors, and ſo leave them to thoſe that are better skill'd in this ſort of Learning, to make what Deciſion they pleaſe upon them.

But to enter upon the Queſtion, and diſcuſs it thoroughly, I ſhall not in the leaſt ſtick to own, as previous to what will be hereafter ſaid, That *Homer*, has a larger and more noble Foundation to build upon than *Virgil*; that his Characters are more extended; that he has more Grandeur, and more of the Sublime; that he Paints things better; that his Images are more finiſh'd and perfect Pieces; that his Reflections have more Morality in them, and are more Sententious; that his Fancy is richer and more pregnant, his Wit more univerſal; that he is a Maſter in all Profeſſions, Poet, Orator, Mathematician, Philoſopher, Aſtronomer, Geographer, Artizan, as he pleaſes; that he entertains us with more Variety in the Management of his Fable; that he has more of that Impetuoſity, that raiſes and elevates the Fancy; that his Expreſſions have more Life, more Strength, and Energy in them; that he is of a more happy Genius; and has more the Temper and Complexion of a Poet; that his Verſes are more pompous and ſtately; that they more delight the Ear of thoſe that underſtand the Beauty of Poetry, with their Numbers and Cadence; that he is more Natural, his greateſt Art being to ſeem to be without Art, Painting every thing after Nature. But after all, to Form a Judgment on theſe Conſiderations, when there are other things more

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more Essential that deserve our Examination; is to Judge of *Homer* and *Virgil*, only from what is most superficial in their Works, as the *Grammarians* have done.

To Form then a regular Judgment in this Case, and nicely to State the Question, we must begin with an Enquiry concerning an *Epick* Poem, what it is, what is its Matter, its Form, its End, and its other Parts?

Poet. c. 5. The *Epopæa*, says *Aristotle*, Is an Imitation, or a Draught, or Portraicture of an Illustrious Action. This is common with *Tragedy*, but with this difference, that the one imitates by Representation, the other by Narration. So that its Matter is *Heroick Action*, its Form Fable, its End the Instructions of Princes and Grandees.

Let us now examine the Poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, according to these Rules, and upon these Principles, and that we may not be mistaken and err, let us not consider these great Works by Pieces and Fragments; et us not examine these two Authors by their Descriptions, their Similitudes, and their Epithets, for these are only the Superficial Parts of them; but let us search into what is most Essential in them, as to the Design and Execution. And to do this methodically, let us keep to the Order of the Parts of an *Epick* Poem, which, as *Aristotle* ranges them, are *Fables*, *Morality*, *Thoughts*, and *Words*. Let us now then draw our Comparison between *Homer* and *Virgil*, from these Rules, and according to this Order.

CHAP.

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CHAP. III.

A Comparison between the two Fables of the Iliad, *and the* Æneid.

LET us begin with *Fable*, which is the first of the Parts of an *Epick Poem*; and consider that of the *Iliad*, and that of the *Æneid*, as they both lie Naked and Unveil'd, Pure and Simple, without their *Episodes*.

The Fable of the *Iliad* is, that one of the Chiefs of the *Grecian* Army, being dissatisfied with the General, retires from the Camp, without considering his Duty, or hearkning to Reason, or the Advice of his Friends; and deserts the Publick Interest and that of the State, to indulge a Surly Morose Humour, and yield himself up to the Violence of his Resentments: His Enemies take the Advantage of this his Absence, and grow too powerful for his Party, and come off Victorious in several Skirmishes with them, killing at last his best Friend. Upon this he takes up Arms again, in order to revenge his Death, and Passion hurries him on to what Reason cou'd never prevail upon him to do. In the End, he kills the Captain of his Enemies. This is the Fable of the *Iliad*, abstracted from the *Episodes*, and despoil'd of all its Ornaments.

The Fable of the *Æneid*, is this. A Prince forc'd to fly upon the Desolation of his Countrey, wanders up and down the World, in order to make a new Establishment. He makes his Gods and his Father, the Companions of his Flight. The Gods mov'd with the Royal Suffer-

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Sufferer's Piety, interest themselves in the Seating him in the Noblest and most Beautiful part of the World; and thus he becomes the Founder of the most flourishing Empire that ever was.

Let us now make a Comparison between these two Fables, and measure the Grandeur of the two Heroes, by that of their Actions. The Action of *Achilles*, is destructive of his Country, and of his own Party, as *Homer* himself acknowledges: That of *Æneas*, is of signal Advantage and Glory to his Country; the Motive of the former, is Passion; of the latter, Vertue. The Action of *Achilles*, is occasion'd by the Death of *Patroclus*, his best Friend: The Action of *Æneas*, by the Liberty he endeavour'd to obtain for his Gods and his Father, and upon the Safety he labour'd to procure to those that were the Companions of his Misfortunes. The one is Heroick, that is, above the ordinary Vertue of Man, for so *Aristotle* defines Heroick Vertue in his *Ethicks*: The other, is not so much as Rational, but implies a Character of Brutality, which, according to the same *Aristotle*, is a Vice directly opposite to Heroick Vertue; for as the one is above the Man, so the other is far below him.

The Action of *Æneas*, is more perfect than that of *Achilles*; it puts a Period to Affairs, by the Death of *Turnus*; whilst that of *Achilles* terminates no where; the Siege of *Troy* lasts a full Year after *Hector*'s Death. Which gave occasion to *Quintus Calaber*, and *Tryphiodorus* an *Ægyptian*, who writ upon *Homer*, to observe that the *Iliad* was imperfect, because it terminated not in *Hector*'s Death, which ought to have been the Grand Period. And thus, from what

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what part soever you take your View of the *Æneid*, you'll find that it concludes more happily, and that its great Period, which is, as it were, the Consummation of all, is more full and compleat than that of the *Iliad*.

But if we will give our selves the trouble to consider, how much Conduct, Invention, Perspicacity and Wit, must conspire together in the Choice of a Subject, that makes the *Romans* to descend from the Blood of the Gods, and particularly *Augustus*, under whose Reign the Poet writ, and whom he so agreeably Flatters with this Promise of an Empire, that was to be Eternal, what Beauty, what Grandeur, and what Excellency shall we meet with in that admirable Choice, which *Virgil* has made? And what is there to be found comparable to it, in that of *Homer*? For as there was never any Author that has done more Honour to his Country by his Works, than *Virgil*, in attributing to the *Romans* a Divine Extraction, and an Eternal Posterity, according to the Decrees of Fate; so it may be said of *Homer*, that he has disgrac'd his County, by choosing for his Heroe, a Person that was the Destruction of so many brave Men, whom he sacrific'd to his Grief and Discontent. This gave *Plato* an occasion of finding so much fault with that Anger of *Achilles*, the consequence whereof, prov'd so prejudicial to the *Greeks*, as *Tasso* has since observ'd after him in his *Opuscula*.

Πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν Ἡρώων.

L' ira di Achille fù con amaritudine ripressa da Platone. Tass. Opusc.

Yet it may be said in *Homer*'s excuse, for his having made that Passion the Subject of his Poem, that the Anger and Fury of the Ancient Heroes, before the Meekness and Affability, which Christianity teaches, appear'd in the World, was neither a Weakness nor a Default, as *Tasso* seems to insinuate in his Dialogue of

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of Virtue. *Il soverchio dell' ira fù attributo ad Hertole, Achille, Ajace & altri Heroi. Et Alessandro per ammaestramento filosofico, non potì tenerlo à freno, quantunche alcuna volta vincesse il piacere, come dimostrò doppo la morte di Dario, nel rispetto portato alla moglie, e alla madre.* *A certain Transcendency of Anger was attributed to* Hercules, Achilles, Ajax, *and other Heroes. And* Alexander *himself, notwithstanding all his Precepts of Philosophy, could not bridle that Passion, tho' sometimes he Conquer'd and Subdu'd his Lust, as upon the Death of* Darius, *when he shew'd so much Respect to his Wife and Mother.* But as the same, *Plato* observes; Anger is not a Virtue, but when it takes up Arms in the Defence of Reason, from whence it may be infer'd, that that of *Achilles*, was not upon any account Virtuous, since it was far from being Rational, as *Tasso* assures us, in the second Book of his *Opuscula*. *Pare che Homero con la Persona di Agamennone ci metta inanzi à gli occhi una figura della ragione depravata: E con quella d' Achille l' imagine dell' ira smoderata, & trapassante i termini prescritti dalla regione.* *It appears that* Homer, *in the Person of* Agamemnon, *sets before our Eyes an Image of deprav'd Reason; and, in that of* Achilles, *the Picture of Excessive Anger, and such as transcends the prescrib'd Boundaries of Reason.* Thus is *Virgil* more Happy in, and seems to have gain'd more Glory, both to himself and his Country, by the subject Matter of his Poem, and consequently his Choice is more Prudent and Judicious, than that of *Homer*. And as to that Title of *Inexorable*, which *Horace* has given *Achilles*, 'tis not so Virtuous as our Language makes it. *Inexorabilis* in *Latine*, does not signify so much a Man that is untractable, as one that knows how to Defend and Support the Party

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ty He's engag'd in. And this is the Grand Character of *Homer's* Heroe, that he is independent.

CHAP. IV.

A Compariſon between the two Heroes.

THE Action of *Achilles*, being ſomewhat more wonderful and ſurprizing, than that of *Æneas*, in regard, that it is wholly manag'd by him himſelf, without any Aſſiſtance of Company, and that his Preſence in, or Abſence from the Army, occaſions all the Advantages and Diſadvantages to his Party; every one will be inclin'd at firſt, to allow the Preference. But upon a Nicer View, it will not be ſo; and when we have given our ſelves the Leiſure to look more narrowly into things, and ſhall have ſtrictly examin'd theſe two Heroes, we ſhall form a quite different Judgment. The firſt Obſervation to be made, in order to the clearing up of this Point, is, that in all probability, it was not the Deſign and Intent of *Homer*, to give us in his Hero, the Idea of a great Commander, or of an accompliſh'd Prince; but to ſhew us how prejudicial Diſcord is to any Party, and ſo to make a Draught of an Action at the ſame time terrible and wonderful. This is the Opinion of *Taſſo*, in his *Opuſcula*.

Perciòfare l' idea di una terribile, e maraviglioſa attione. Taſſ. Opuſc.

In which he has not imitated *Xenophon*, who in the Deſcription he gives us of his Prince, the great *Cyrus*, to make an abſolutely accompliſh'd Perſon of him, confines himſelf not to truth of things, but to the Idea in general of a com-

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compleat Prince, according to the Rules of *Aristotle* in his Poetry, who would have the Poet, in the Representations and Descriptions he makes, draw Persons, not as they actually are, but as they really ought to be. And *Plato*, in the fifth Book of his Laws, tells us, that Imitation is not to be made, but from things in themselves most accomplish'd. Besides, as a Picture in a just and regular Imitation, ought to be like its Original; so ought not this Original to be any one Man or Prince in particular; but the Idea of a Prince, or accomplish'd Person in general. According to this Model, hath *Plato* drawn from the perfect Idea of a just Man, *Xenophon* of a Prince, and *Cicero* of an Orator, by attributing to each of these what was most transcendent in the Idea they form'd to themselves of each of them.

And hence it appears, that not only *Homer* alone, has not follow'd this Maxim, in the framing of his Heroe, by making him subject to great Weaknesses, and notorious Imperfections, instead of inserting into the Idea, he pretends to give of him, the Consummation of all Virtues, according to the Precept of *Paul Beni*, in his Academical Discourses: *Nel Poëma Heroico, conviene esprimer l' idea di perfettissimo Capitano: ò vero formar Heroe, in cui sia il colmo di tutte le virtù militari e civili. In an Heroick Poem, 'tis requisite you should express the Idea of a most perfect Commander, or form such an Heroe, in whom should be the height of all Virtues, Military and Civil.*

And this is a very considerable Advantage, that *Virgil* had over *Homer*. For, whereas the latter had not, for the forming of his Heroe any other Idea, than that of the Virtue of *Hercules*, of *Theseus*, or of some other Person of those early times, who were Renown'd in the World, only

for

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for their bodily Strength and Vigour; it is no wonder if there be such a Defect, as to Morals, in the Heroe he hath given us, in reference to which he form'd him; there being not to be met with in those Days, either in the Records of History, or in Books, any Idea of Moral Virtue. And as Mankind knew of no greater Enemies to oppose, than Monsters and Wild Beasts, so there needed only good robust Bodies, and good Armour, to give a Man a just pretence to the Title of a Heroe. They were ignorant of, and unacquainted with, in that Age of the World, those more terrible and dangerous Enemies, their own Passions, and their own Desires; and Moderation and Justice were Virtues not known in those dark times in which *Homer* writ.

Virgil, besides the Advantage he had of forming his Hero, from the two Heroes of *Homer*, that is, from the Valour of *Achilles*, and the Prudence of *Ulysses*, had also the Advantage of intermixing the Gallantry of *Ajax*, the Wisdom of *Nestor*, the Indefatigable Patience of *Diomedes*, and all those other Virtues, of which *Homer* has drawn the Characters in his two Poems: and of Re-uniting to all these, yet farther, those several Virtues which he had observ'd in all other Illustrious Men, as in *Themistocles*, *Epaminondas*, *Alexander*, *Hannibal*, *Jugurtha*, and in a Number of others of Foreign Nations, as also what he had found most remarkable in the Characters of *Horatius*, *Camillus*, *Scipio*, *Sertorius*, *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, and of all the Heroes of his own Country. Had not then *Virgil* an infinitely more noble Groundwork to raise an accomplish'd Heroe upon, than *Homer*? Thus the Painter *Zeuxis*, finish'd that Famous Picture of *Helena*, which he

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had undertaken, and which was indeed, the most admir'd Peice of that Age, with greater Success, and after a more compleat and exact Manner, than did *Apelles* that of *Venus*; because *Zeuxis* form'd his Idea from all the Perfections he had found in the most celebrated Beauties of his Time, whereas *Apelles* form'd his Idea only from his own pure Imagination; which he found to fail in his Design, for he was forc'd to leave his Piece imperfect, being convinc'd, that he was not able to give a finishing Stroke, equal to those Nice Touches of his Hand he had shew'd in the beginning.

This Inequality in the Subject I am now treating of, will still appear much more evident, if we will but give our selves the trouble of comparing the Character, which *Horace* has left us of *Achilles*, with that which *Virgil* has given us of *Æneas*. *Achilles* is brave, but withal, Hasty, Impetuous, Furious, Passionate, Violent, Unjust, Inexorable, a Contemner of all Laws, and one that places his Reason in the Sword he wears by his side.

Impiger; iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
Jura negat sibi nata, nihil non arrogat armis.
Hor. Ar. Poet.

Impatient, Rash, Inexorable, Proud,
Scorning all Judges, and all Laws but Arms.
E. of Roscommon.

Besides all those excellant Qualities, which certainly are no very great Arguments of a Heroe, he shows a great deal of Cruelty and Barbarity, in relation to the Body of *Hector*, even to such a degree, as to make it his Diversion, to Exercise his Vengeance upon it; and

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out of an unparallel'd peice of Covetousness, he Sells, to the Afflicted and Disconsolate Father, the Body of his Son. I shall not say any thing of his quitting, with a Lightness not to be Pardon'd, that great and generous Enterprize, undertaken by a general Combination of all *Greece*, upon the account of a Female Captive, for whom he gives himself up to Tears and sad Complaints, with all the Demonstrations of Weakness and Folly. In short, this Heroe of *Homer*, whose Reputation is so Great, and who has been so highly celebrated throughout all Ages, is the very Epitome of Imperfections and Vices.

But on the contrary, *Virgil* unites and conjoins all the Virtues in the Formation of his Heroe: He gives him Religion towards the Gods, Piety towards his Country, Tenderness and Friendship towards his Relations, and Equity and Justice towards All. He is undaunted in time of Danger, Patient in Labours, Courragious when occasions require, and Prudent in the Management of Affairs. In fine, He is Good, Peaceable, Liberal, Eloquent, Genteel, and Civil: His Air and Mien is all Grandeur and Majesty; and that he may not want any of those Qualifications, which might contribute towards the Accomplishment of a great Person; he is Fortunate. *Ilioneus* gives *Dido* a Character of him in these two Verses, which may be oppos'd to those two of *Horace*; which are the Portraicture of *Achilles*.

Rex erat Æneas nobis, quo justior alter
Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major & armis.

Æneas was our Prince, a juster Lord,
Or nobler Warriour never drew Sword.
Mr. Dryden.

These are the three Sovereign Qualities, which make up his Essential Character, Religion, Justice, and Valour, and which were eminently conspicuous in *Augustus*, and were the Principal Virtues of that good and great Emperour, whom he has so lively express'd in all the Lineaments and Features of the Heroe, whose Picture he has Drawn and Inscrib'd to him. This is one of the most Refin'd and Ingenious pieces of Flattery that was ever known, in which has happen'd to him, what *Pliny* said some time after, with such a spritelinesse of Thought in his *Panegyrick* to the Emperour *Trajan*: For *Ovid* tells us, that Piety was one of the Principal Virtues of *Augustus*, who made it so much his Care to restore the decay'd Honours of the Temples at *Rome*.

Fingenti formantique mihi Principem, unquam voto saltèm concipere succurrit similem Huic quem videmus. Plin. in Paneg.

Augustum Cæsarem templorum omnium conditorem aut restauratorem. Tit. Liv. Hist. l. 4.

Sub quo Delubris sentitur nulla Senectus,
Nec satis est Homines, obligat Ille Deos.
Fast. l. 2.

Under whose Conduct and auspicious Reign,
Each Temple does its Ancient Worth Retain:
Nor is h' alone Propitious to Mankind,
The Gods themselves from him Protection find.

Thus, from the Virtues of *Augustus*, and a numerous Train of Perfections, distributed and dispers'd amongst divers other Heroes, has *Virgil* drawn the Portraicture of His: true Heroick Virtue, being a Combination and Complication

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plication of all Virtues, as *Aristotle* affirms in his *Ethicks*. And certainly, if the *Pythagoreans* would have a Sovereign, not only without the least fault, but also absolutely accomplish'd in, and entirely possess'd of all Virtues in general, that he might deserve to be the Head of the People; with greater Reason should a Heroe, who is the Model by which Kings ought to form themselves, be a Person of the most transcendent and consummate Virtue.

In fine, to conclude this Observation, *Homer* himself has said more in Commendation of *Æneas*, than ever was, or indeed can be said in Praise of any great Man; when in the fifth Book of his *Iliad*, he tells us, that this great Commander had always a Deity attending on him, for his security, and to preserve him from that Variety of Accidents, to which all other Men are liable to, as if Heaven had interested it self in his Preservation.

Τῶ δ' ἀεὶ παρὰ εἷστ' γε θεῶν ὃς λοιγὸν ἀμύνοι.

CHAP. V.

Which of the two Heroes was the most Eminent for Bravery and Valour.

WE may, notwithstanding all this, allow of these Observations, without giving the Preference to *Æneas*. For the Character of Valiant, which *Homer* gives *Achilles*; and which of all Characters carries in it most of the Heroick, appears with greater Advantage, and is infinitely more accomplish'd, than that which *Virgil* gives *Æneas*. And this very Character distinguishes him too, with a greater Mark of

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Pre-eminence from those of his own Party, tho' all Valiant. For there is nothing done without him, and he alone is the sole Cause of all the good and bad Fortune of his Army.

I must confess, indeed, that the Valour of *Achilles* shines with a much greater Lustre, than that of *Æneas*, in regard it is the only Heroick Quality *Homer* endows him with, and by which he distinguishes him, and so is the more conspicuous by being alone; Whereas in *Æneas*, being attended by many others, it is so much the less observable, because the Splendor of it is eclipsed by that of his other Qualities. We find in the Heroe of *Homer*, the Portraicture only of *Achilles*; but in the Heroe of *Virgil*, we have all the Lineaments and Features of *Menelaus*, *Agamemnon*, *Ulysses*, *Ajax*, *Nestor*, *Diomedes*, and even of *Achilles* himself. Thus is *Æneas* his Character made up of all the Qualities of great Men, as we may soon observe, if we will but follow *Virgil* through that Series of Action, in which he makes his Heroe engag'd in the second Book of the *Æneid*.

We may be allow'd to say, that when we know how to distinguish exactly between true Valour and Rashness, and shall have well observ'd the Extent *Aristotle* allows to this Virtue of Magnanimity in his *Ethicks*; we shall find that *Virgil* carries the Character of Valiant, which he gives *Æneas*, as far as it ought to go. But we must allow our selves time for Meditation and Reflection, thoroughly to be acquainted with this Character, as 'tis appropriated to *Æneas*, and ought not to suffer any of those Circumstances, with which he endeavours to prepossess our Minds, to escape our Observation.

In

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In the first place then, he brings in *Æneas* inform'd by *Hector*, who appears to him after his Death, that the *Greeks* had taken *Troy*, by Surprize, that they were Masters of the Town, and that it was its Fate to be destroy'd. This sad News being brought by a deceas'd Person, Religion renders his Testimony sacred; and to take him off from all farther Endeavours to defend it, the gastly Messenger assures him, that he himself had already done the utmost he could by his Courage.

Sat Patriæ Priamoque datum est.

Enough is paid to Priam's *Royal Name,*
More than enough to Duty and to Fame.
Mr. Dryden.

He might have desisted from attempting any Relief upon so sacred a Testimony as that, 'twas the Will of the Gods it should be so; but awaken'd with the Noise of the Sacking of the City, and the Flames of the Neighbouring Houses, he goes up to the top of his House to discover the Causes of all this Disorder and Confusion: And his first Resolution is, to take up Arms, and Dye in the Defence of his Country.

Pulchrumque mori, succurrit in Armis.

Spurr'd by my Courage, by my Country fir'd
With Sense of Honour and Revenge inspir'd.
Mr. Dryden.

The Danger startles him not, tho' he was alone when he went forth Arm'd from his House, without advising with his People. He

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runs to the place where the Tumult was; the Confusion of a Surpriz'd City, and the most pressing Exigencies hurrying him on.

In flammas & in arma feror:

And Heaven that Well-born Souls inspires,
Prompts me through lifted Swords and rising Fires
To run, where clashing Arms and Clamour calls,
And rush undaunted to defend the Walls.
Mr. Dryden.

Meeting in his way with *Chorœbus*, *Dymas*, and *Hypanis*, and with some others whom he knew, he leads them on, and animates them by his Example.

Moriamur, & in media arma ruamus.

Then let us fall, but fall amidst our Foes,
Despair of Life, the Means of Living shews.
Mr. Dryden.

With his own Hand he kills *Androgeus*, one that had made the farthest Advances of any of the Enemies Commanders; after this he makes a great Slaughter amongst the *Greeks*, with but a Handful of his own Men; upon this Advantage, both he and they put on the Armour of the Slain, to disguise themselves, which prov'd so Successful, that he forc'd a good Party of the Enemy out of the City, and pursu'd them quite to their Ships.

Diffugiunt alii ad Naves, & littora cursu
Fida petunt:

Thus

Thus while their ſtragling Parties we defeat,
Some to the Shoar and ſafer Ships retreat.
Mr. Dryden.

But over-power'd at laſt by Numbers, *Dymas*, *Hypanis* and his other Friends falling by his ſide, he runs to the Palace, where was the greateſt Danger, and Attacks it with all his Force, in hopes to Reſcue the Poor Unhappy King, and all the Royal Family.

Inſtaurati animi Regis ſuccurrere tectis.

Renew'd in Courage with recover'd Breath
A ſecond time we ran to tempt our Death,
To clear the Palace from the Foe; ſucceed
The weary Living, and revenge the Dead.
Mr. Dryden.

But he comes thither too late, the *Greeks* having already put all within it to the Sword. Upon this, being the only Perſon left of his Party;

Famique adeò ſuper unus eram.

Thus wandring in my way without a guide.
Mr. Dryden.

And finding himſelf Deſerted by all, nothing now remaining in the Palace, that might occaſion his ſtay, after he had ſeen *Polites* the King's Son, and the King himſelf Murdered, he retires back to his own Houſe, in order to lay down his own Life in the Defence of his Father's. But his Mother *Venus* ſtops him in the way, and opens his Eyes, to let him ſee, that

'tis

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'tis againſt the Will of the Gods he Fights, and that they are the Deſtroyers of *Troy*, as well as the *Greeks*.

——— *Mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum*
Neptunus muros, magnoque emota tridenti
Fundamenta quatit, totamque à ſedibus urbem
Eruit. Hic Juno Scæas ſæviſſima portas
Prima tenet, ſociumque vocans à navibus agmen
Ferro accincta vocat, &c.

Where yon diſorder'd Heap of Ruine lies
Stones rent from Stones, where Clouds of duſt ariſe,
Amidſt that ſmother Neptune *holds his place,*
Below the Walls Foundation drives his Mace,
And heaves the Building from the ſolid Baſe.
Look where in arms Imperial Juno *ſtands*
Full in the Scæan *Gate, with loud commands*
Urging on Shore the tardy Græcian *Bands.*
Mr. Dryden.

Jupiter and *Pallas* too were of the Party; ſo that *Æneas*, who ſaw them, might have acquieſc'd in their fatal Decree, without purſuing things any farther. It had been an inſtance of Impiety, and not of Valour, to have ſtood out any longer, againſt ſo many Gods that had combin'd together. But notwithſtanding all this, being come to his Houſe, in order to Protect his Father, tho' at the Expence of his own Life, and perceiving that he could not ſurvive the Deſtruction of his Country, he arms himſelf a ſecond time, in order to fall Honourably, and Dye a Glorious Death.

Hic ferro accingor rurſus.

Arm'd

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Arm'd once again my glitt'ring Sword I wield.
Mr. Dryden.

And nothing can divert him, but Signs from Heaven, and Admonitions from the Gods themſelves.

——— *Subitoque fragore*
Intonuit lævum. —— &c.

He ſaid, the crackling Flames appear on high
And driving Sparkles dance along the Sky.
Mr. Dryden.

Anchiſes himſelf, tells him the Interpretation of theſe Prodigies, and *Æneas* could not ſubmit to any thing but that.

Ceſſi, & ſublato montem Genitore petivi.

I yeild to Fate, unwillingly retire,
And loaded up the Hill convey my Sire.
Mr. Dryden.

'Tis not to Men, but to the Gods, and to them alone that he yields. 'Tis a matter of great doubt, whether true Valour could poſſibly have been advanc'd any higher; and yet we ſee this is but the beginning, but the firſt Eſſay of *Æneas* his Gallantry: All the Couragious Actions he performs in the ſequel of the *Æneid*, carry in them the true Marks and Characters of this Valour, which will appear very wonderful and aſtoniſhing, even in theſe times in which this excellent Name and Title is, without any manner of Diſtinction, beſtow'd on the raſh and imprudent Sallies and Eruptions of Fury and Brutality. From

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From these Observations, it will be no hard matter to judge, which of the two Heroes is the most perfect and accomplish'd, *Achilles* or *Æneas*. This is what is one of the most Essential Parts of the Poem. I come now to the second, which is the Disposition of the Fable.

CHAP. VI.

The Disposition of the Fable of the two Poems.

THE Disposition or Distribution of the Fable consists in three things, *viz.* The Natural Deduction or Consequence of the Principal Action, and of all the Matters that compose it; a just Temperament, and an exact Intermixture of what is probable, and what miraculous; and the Arrangement and Correspondence of the Episodes or Digressions, with the Principal Action. These three Qualities, which lay the Foundation of the Distribution of the Fable, called by *Aristotle*, the *Constitution of things*, are so Essential to a Poem, that it cannot be absolutely compleat without them.

Arist. in Poet.

The first is the Action, which, according to the Rules of *Aristotle*, ought to be entire and perfect, that is, as he himself explains it, such as hath a Beginning, a Middle, and an End. *Horace* would have these parts have a certain proportion and connexion between themselves.

Horat. ad Pison.

Prima

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Primo nè medium, medio ne discrepet imum.
Hor. ad Pison.

And Truth and Fiction are so aptly mix'd
That all seems uniform, and of a piece.
E. of Roscommon.

——— *Ut nec pes nec caput uni*
Reddatur formæ. Horat. in Poet. ad Pison.

And these are the Observations which ought to be made upon our Poems, as to this Point. If the Action and Principal Subject of the *Iliad* be the War of *Troy*, according to the Opinion of *Horace*, a great Master in that Art, who calls *Homer*, the Historian of the *Trojan* War, *Trojani belli Scriptorem*, and according to the Opinion of many others, then is that Action defective and imperfect, for that War has not, in the *Iliad*, either Beginning or End; and this would be like a Statue, that has neither Head nor Foot. So that in this Case, that Verse of *Horace* is very applicable.

Infelix operis summa qui ponere totum
Nesciat,——— &c.

The meanest Workman in the Æmilian Square
May grave the Nails, or imitate the Hair,
But cannot finish what he hath begun;
What is there more ridiculous than he?
For one or two good Features in a Face
Where all the rest are scandalously ill,
Make it but more remarkably deform'd.
E. of Roscommon.

But

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But if the Action be the Anger of *Achilles*, as is more probable, and as *Homer* himself acknowledges by his Proposition; that Anger has indeed a Beginning, but it has neither End, nor Middle; for it is effac'd by a new Anger of the same Person against *Hector*, upon the Death of *Patroclus*. So that there are two Angers, one upon the Loss of his Friend, and the other upon the Forcing away of his Mistriss: And the greatest Default is, that the Rest of the Poem has no Connexion with that Anger. For *Homer*, throughout the whole Extent of Eighteen Books, thinks no more of it; as if he had entirely forgot his Proposition and Design, which like a Star shou'd guide his Course, or like the Mariner's Compass, never ought to be out of his sight for fear of Deviating. During all this long Interval, he speaks only of Sieges, of Battels, and of Surprizes, of the several Consultations of the Gods, and of all that relates to the Siege of *Troy*. This was what gave *Horace* occasion to believe, that the Subject of the *Iliad* was the War of *Troy*, according to the very Name it goes under. And so from whatever side we take our View of this Poem, it will appear Defective, as to this Point.

Nor is the Action of the *Odyssey* in any respect more Perfect, than that of the *Iliad*. It begins with the Voyages of *Telemachus*, and concludes with those of *Ulysses*. The Four first Books, are all concerning *Telemachus*; *Menelaus*, *Nestor*, and the other *Grecian* Princes, give him an Account of the Adventures of *Troy*; all relate to that, and not the least thought of *Ulysses*; which made *Paul Beni* say, in his *Academical Discourses* upon *Homer* and *Virgil*, that the Fable of the *Odyssey* was double.

E'chiaramente provato che l' Odissea contenga due peregrinatione, e insomma sia di doppia favola.

Not

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Not that I am absolutely of this Opinion, yet I may venture to affirm, that 'twill be a difficult Matter to find the Principal Action of the *Odyssey* regularly carried on, and according to the Proportions requir'd by *Horace* in the forementioned Precept, for the Natural Connexion of the Parts. Nay, this very Voyage of *Telemachus*, bears not any the least Proportion to that of *Ulysses*, which is the Principal Action: It contributes nothing at all, nay, not so much as to minister any occasion for his Return, which is brought about by the Order and Contrivance of *Jupiter*, and by the Assistance of the *Phenicians*. And this made *Bene* say, That the Four first Books of the *Odyssey* are neither Episode, nor part of an Action, nor have they any Connexion with the Rest of the Work. Take them as they are, and you shall not know what to make of them.

The *Æneid* seems not to me, to be chargeable with this Fault. *Æneas* leaves *Phrygia*, makes his Voyages, and Settles himself in *Italy*; there is as it were a Train of Consequences in this Design, and all relates to the Establishment of a New Empire, which is the true Subject of the Poem. This, *Virgil* prosecutes home to the propos'd End, without the least delay upon what has no Relation to the Design, without the least Digression from the Subject.

Semper ad eventum festinat, & in medias Res
Non secus ac notas Auditorem rapit.
Hor. ad Pis.

Nothing is Idle, each Judicious Line
Insensibly acquaints us with the Plot.
E. of Rosscommon.

He

He is also more happy than *Homer*, in the Distribution and Arrangement of his Matter, and the particular Occurrences which relate to the General Order and Disposition of his Poem.

And it is this Distribution, and this Disposition of things, which makes that admirable Regularity, and that Proportion, in which alone consists the Perfection of a Great Work; which is neither Beautiful, nor Compleat, any farther than there is a just Correspondence between its Parts. This gave occasion to that Observation of *Paul Beni's*, in his *Academical Discourses*; that we ought not to make a Judgment of the Perfection of a Poem from the Beauty of one, or of several of its Parts, but of all together.

Non des stirmarsi beccellenza del Poëma, da una sola circonstanza o parte, mà da tutte insieme.

This just and regular Proportion of the Parts, and the exact Correspondence there ought to be between them, seems to be incomparably much better observ'd in the *Æneid*, than in the *Iliad*: For there every thing is introduc'd in due Order, and in its proper Place, and no Man ever better observ'd that Distribution and regular ordering of the Subject Matter, and that Series of Events, than *Virgil* has done. Hence, *Horace* recommends it to the Poet above all things,

Ad Pison.

Ut jam nunc dicat, jam nunc debentia dici
Pleraque differat:

As well the Force as Ornament of Verse
Consists in choosing a fit time for things,
And knowing when a Muse shou'd be indulg'd
In her full Flight, and when she shou'd be curb'd.

E. of Roscommon.

Intimating,

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Intimating, that the Beauty and Perfection of a Work, conſiſts in that Order.

Ordinis hæc virtus erit & Venus. Ad Piſon.

For the Grace and agreeable Charms that appear in any Work, cannot proceed from any thing, but from this regular Order and Diſtribution.

And not to dilate here, upon what may be more Particularly and Minutely obſerv'd on this Subject; I ſhall only ſtop a little, to draw a Compariſon between the Games which *Achilles* Celebrated in the 23 Book of the *Iliad*, upon the Death of *Patroclus*, and thoſe which *Æneas* Celebrates for the Apotheoſis of *Anchiſes*, in the fifth of the *Æneid*.

Games are of the Number of thoſe Actions, which may occur in the Lives of Heroes, and ſo be introduc'd into the Subject Matter of an Heroick Poem; becauſe they are the Occaſions of Magnificence, which is one of thoſe Qualities, that make up the Character of an Heroe. *Virgil* makes his Heroe, in the Fifth *Æneid*, Firſt, to divert the Fancy of his Reader from the mournful Object of *Dido*'s Death, which he had Repreſented in the Fourth Book, and which indeed carries in it ſomething of Barbarity; and then to divert himſelf, by diverting his Heroe; and theſe are of thoſe ſorts of Pleaſures, Diverſions and Entertainments; which to ſucceed, ought to be introduc'd in their proper Place.

Virgil wou'd not have plac'd his Games well, either in his Second or Third Book; for this had been to have enter'd upon his Recreations too ſoon, as *Homer* has done it too late, in the 23 *Iliad*. The time was then elaps'd, 'twas

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unseasonable, People were quite tir'd out, for he shou'd not have begun to have amus'd himself, when he was so near the End. This is as if a Traveller, intent upon his Return from the *Indies* to *Paris*, after two full Years spent in his Voyage, shou'd trifle away a whole Month at *Diepe*, at Tables, or in seeing Plays; for 'twou'd argue no less, than a strange want of Judgment. And in truth, *Homer* might have been more Serious towards the End of his Work; for he ought, in Appearance at least, to have been a little Fatigu'd, and not have wandred at that time of day, when he was so near the End of his Race. There are an infinite Number of things utterly Incredible, in the Representation of these Games. The Arbitrators or Judges make long Discourses, which tire and wear out the Patience of the Readers.

The second Part of the Disposition, which is the just Intermixture and Temperament of what is Miraculous, with what is Probable, is likewise Essential to an *Epick* Poem, which ought to have something admirable in it, to move the Souls of Great Men, for whose sakes it is writ, to animate them with Courage for glorious Achievements: But with this Caution, that it have somewhat of Probability in it too, so as not to give a check to their Emulation, or hurry them into Despair. Truth it self, which the Historian ought closely to adhere to, being sometimes too strong to be imitated, is not always so proper for the Subject Matter of an *Epick* Poem, as Probability, which bears a greater Proportion to things than Men are wont to make. For Example, the Action of *Sampson*, who defeated the *Philistines*, with the Jaw-bone of Ass, is an Heroick Action;

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on; but indispable, of being made the Subject of an *Epick* Poem. For though it be true, yet it seems not very highly probable; and is too Miraculous, to be propos'd for Imitation. We are to avoid therefore this Excess, by a just Temperament of Probability, without which all becomes Fabulous and Incredible, and makes not the least Impressions upon the Soul; which suffers not it self to be mov'd, but with what carries in it some degrees of Possibility.

Let us now see, whether *Homer* has been more fortunate in the observance of this Rule, than the Person we have been speaking of. He takes so little care of the Probable Part, and so far advances the Miraculous, out of an excessive piece of Vanity and Affectation of being in all Parts equally admirable, and of raising the Passions, and elevating the Soul, that he leaves nothing to be perform'd by the strength of Reason, of Passion, or even of Nature it self, but all is done by Machines. When *Priam* lost *Hector*, no less than *Jupiter* himself must send the King the Fatal News by the Goddess *Iris*, with this Advice too, that he shou'd take care of his Sons Body, and Ransom it from *Achilles*. Cou'd not the Father, who had so great a Tenderness and Affection for his Son, and was so superstitious an Observer of the Funeral Rites and Ceremonies, and that cou'd not have suffer'd a *Depositum* so precious to have been left at the Mercy of Birds of Prey; cou'd not he, I say, have thought of all this himself; but there must be a Machine to put him in Mind, that he is a Father?

When *Telemachus*, in the *Odyssey*, sets out, in order to make a search for his Father in the Courts of *Greece*, he cannot make the least Progress, not proceed one Step, without the Assi-

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stance of *Minerva*. She is his Guide wherever he goes, she alone puts him upon such and such Thoughts; he can neither do, nor think of himself. Cou'd not Honour, Duty, and even Nature it self have mov'd his Heart, and rais'd some Disquietude in his Breast, upon the Account of an Absent Father, Absent for near the space of Eighteen Years, but there must recourse be had to a Foreign Power, to a Machine? And besides too, this Machine has not the least Appearance of Probability, in as much as *Minerva* conducts *Telemachus* all over *Greece* in search after *Ulysses*, except only to the very Place where he is, which she certainly ought by no means to have been ignorant of, upon the Account of her Divinity, from which nothing surely can be conceal'd.

And yet this is *Homer*'s Method, who to appear wonderful in every part, wou'd do every thing by ways and means Extraordinary. It may be said without any Injustice to our Author, that he puts his Gods upon mean and vulgar Employments, and Assigns them their several Posts, as if they were to Act their Parts in a Comedy. He makes *Mercury Priam*'s Coachman to carry him to *Achilles*, to demand the Body of his Son; and lest the good King's Person shou'd be expos'd to the Scouts of the Army in his Passage to the *Grecian* Camp, *Jupiter* employs the same *Mercury* to lull them asleep; and to prepare *Achilles* his Heart and predispose it to a just sense of Piety, *Thetis* his Mother, is sent by *Jupiter*'s Orders to prevent the Heroe, and incline him to a compassionate Temper. No less than the Goddess *Minerva* her self is dispatch'd in the 19 Book of the *Odyssey*, to carry a Flambeau before *Ulysses* and *Telemachus*, to conduct them through the dark

to

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to their Retirement, where they were to' get ready their Armour. In ſhort, the Gods are employ'd upon all Occaſions, and not the leaſt regard had either to their Rank and Order, or to the Peace and Tranquility of their Condition. They are as ſo many Galley-Slaves to be employ'd in any work. *Per ambages Deorumq; miniſteria.* Sat.

This is not the Air of *Virgil*, who has always moſt Religiouſly obſerv'd what *Horace* has, in his Art of Poetry, long ſince adviſ'd, that the Gods are not to be put upon any Action, unleſs the thing it ſelf truly deſerves it.

Nec Deus interſit, niſi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit. Hor. Poet.

Never preſume to make a God appear
But for a Buſineſs worthy of a God.
E. of Roſcommon.

Thus does that judicious Poet introduce *Mercury*, in the Fourth *Æneid*, to extricate him out of thoſe horrible Perplexities he was in. The Promiſe he had made to *Dido*, detains him at *Carthage*, but the future Fortunes of his Son, and the certain Proſpect of the Empire of the whole World, confirm'd to him by the irreverſible Decrees of the Gods, preſs his Departure thence. He is under a dread on the one ſide, of being chargeable with a Defect of Fidelity, with want of Sincerity and Integrity, in relation to *Dido*; and on the other, of Duty and due Submiſſion to the Gods. To free him therefore from theſe Troubles, there muſt be ſent down one from above, ſome ſuperior Power; no leſs than a God muſt ſpeak to ſurmount the Heroe's Difficulties, and null the Engagement; and *Mercury* is the God, that does all this.

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The same may be likewise said of the Adventures of *Æneas*, in the first *Æneid*. 'Tis not a Shepherd or a Huntsman that will serve him for his Guide in the wandring Condition he was in, which wou'd have been Natural enough; but 'tis *Venus* that appears to him, that tells him what Country he is in, and acquaints him with the Adventures of his Companions whom he had given over for lost, and that directs him in his Course through unknown Paths. For such was then the Posture of Affairs, that 'twas necessary for some Deity to intervene, to raise the drooping Spirits of *Æneas*, and animate him with new Courage; him, I say, who had been so great a Sufferer by a most dreadful Tempest, who had lost part of his Fleet amongst the Waves, and who had been himself forc'd by the Storm upon a Desart Shore, destitute of all humane Relief, and reduc'd almost to Despair. 'Twas fit the Poet shou'd not leave him in these Extremities; and 'twas likewise according to the Degrees of Probability we have before stated, that the Gods ought in some measure to concern themselves for him; since his Piety made him so careful of, and solicitous for their Interest, and since too, they were the Companions of his Exile and Flight. Nor was it less, in Conformity to the Rules of Decency and Decorum, that it shou'd be the Heroe's Mother that shou'd engage in this Enterprize, and make it her Business to encourage him, especially, after she had been inform'd by *Jupiter* of his Destiny.

But besides that all these Machines and Contrivances of *Virgil*, have a better Foundation, in Reason and Probability, than those of *Homer*; you will find them less frequent, and less forc'd, if you take the leisure to Examine them

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them one after another. Nay, the very Management of the Miniſtry of the Gods, is much more ſuitable to their Rank and Condition, and perform'd with incomparably far greater Judgment in *Virgil*, than in *Homer*, whom for that Reaſon, *Dion Chryſoſtome* calls the *greateſt Impoſter in the World, and that in things moſt difficult to be believ'd.*

We may add farther, according to *Taſſo*'s Remarks in his *Opuſcula*, that *Virgil* had the happineſs of giving thoſe Embelliſhments to his Poem by ſomething wonderful and ſurprizing; which *Homer*, notwithſtanding all his Affectation of, and Pretenſions to that Art, was not the leaſt aware of, as the giving Courage to Women, and engaging them in Acts of Hoſtility, ſuch as *Camilla* is put upon in the Eleventh Book; and with ſo good Succeſs, as to prove a very great Ornament to the *Æneid*. This is what *Taſſo* takes notice of, and that long ſince that Obſervation made by *Dion Chryſoſtome*, in his Diſcourſe of the Affairs of *Troy*. *Niuna coſa par più mara vigliosa, della fortezza feminile: Virgilio occupiò queſta parte, della quale Homero s'era dimenticato. Nothing ſeems more admirable, than Female Courage; Virgil was entirely Maſter of this, in which* Homer *was as much defective.*

The third Part of the Diſpoſition, is the Intermixture of the *Epiſodes* with the Principal Action. An *Epiſode*, is a kind of Digreſſion from the Subject; and conſequently ought not to be long, if we rightly obſerve the Proportions. Neither ought it to be forc'd, violently extorted, or far fetch'd, ſo as to betray its diſaffinity to the Subject. In fine, it ought not to be too often, leſt it occaſion a Confuſion of Matters. *Homer* begins his *Odyſſey*, which is the more perfect Poem, with an *Epiſode* of Four

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Books. He goes off from his Subject before he has well entred upon it, and to make a regular Structure, he begins with a Piece very improper and unsuitable for his Design, according to the Observations I have already made.

Has *Virgil* any thing like all this in his *Episodes*, which bear so admirable a Proportion to the Subject, as is that of *Pallas* and *Evander*, that of *Nisus* and *Euryalus*, that of *Camilla*, and several others? Nay, that of *Dido*, which is the Noblest and Largest of them all, never excludes the Person of the Heroe. It is he that speaks, he that relates his own Adventures: If he recedes ought from his Subject, he still makes frequent returns upon himself. This is not to be met with either in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, where we lose our view for the space of several Books. *Achilles* and *Ulysses*, the Heroes of those Poems, are quite out of sight, and a Man may fetch a large Compass before he can meet with them again.

I leave it to those that can better spare time to examine, whether the *Episodes* of *Homer* are not more Forc'd and less Natural than those of *Virgil*. What Connexion is there between, or what Reference has the Wound which *Mars* receiv'd from *Diomedes*, to the Anger of *Achilles*? *Homer* enlarges much upon this Adventure in the fifth *Iliad*. *Mars* crying like a Child, goes and makes his Complaints to *Jupiter*, who unkindly treats him with bitter Railleries. However, to make up the Story, *Pæan* the Physician of the Gods is sent for to cure him; and the Goddess *Hebe* interposes and concerns her self for him. The Poet, who thinks this Passage Pleasant and Diverting, carries on the Fiction so far, as to descend to Wantonness and Ridicule; a Fault that wou'd deserve our Pity,

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were not Men ſo prepoſſeſs'd with an Eſteem and Value for him upon the Account of the Grandeur and Sublimity of his Genius.

But not to inſiſt too long upon particulars, which wou'd be an endleſs peice of Work; we may conclude, that *Virgil* never wanders from his Subject, that *Homer* ſeldom keeps ſo much as within diſtance of his; and that by the multiplicity and vaſt Train of his *Epiſodes*, he is continually hurried away with the Impetuoſity and Violence of his Imagination, to which he lets himſelf looſe without the leaſt Diſcretion. He may be compar'd to thoſe Travellers, who upon a long Journey are diverted and ſtopt by every little Thing. There is not one ſingle Blow given in the Heat of an Engagement, but he muſt from thence take an occaſion to tell Stories, and derive Genealogies.

CHAP. VII.

Of MORALITY.

MOrality ought, according to *Ariſtotle's* Scheme, to follow the Diſpoſition of the Fable. It is the third Quality of an Epick Poem; nor are we here, by Morality, to underſtand the Morality of the Poet, but the Morality of the Actors, and of thoſe Perſons that are to enter upon Action. What a vaſt and irreconcileable Difference ſhall we find between our two admirable Poets, as to this Point? Kings and Princes in *Homer*, talk to one another with all the Scurrility imaginable. *Agamemnon*, in the *Iliad*, treats *Cryſes* with great Inſolence,

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solence, and much Indignity; when the unhappy old Man comes to him to demand, with the most profound Respect, and with Presents too in Hand, his own Daughter, whom he had injuriously Ravish'd from him. The Haughty Prince tells him, that he has no regard to the External Marks of his Priesthood, a Title, by which he had just Pretence enough to some kind of Respect, to a favourable Reception at least. Nor does this High-Priest express himself afterwards like a Man of great Virtue in the Prayer he makes to *Apollo*, in which he imprecates his Vengeance on the *Greeks* to satisfie his poor Resentments. This is somewhat Uncharitable, and beneath the Dignity of a Person, whose Office it was to pray for the People, and for the Preservation of the Government, according to his Function of High-Priest.

Achilles, in the Nineteenth *Iliad*, goes to his Mother *Thetis* to acquaint her with what a Concern he is under for the Body of his Friend *Patroclus* then lately kill'd, lest the Flies shou'd injure it; least they shou'd enter into the Wounds, which wou'd breed Corruption, and that render the Body loathsome. Is not all this Heat and Fury against these little Animals, well becoming a Heroe; and is not he a most Excellent Poet, that employs no less than a God to drive them away?

Ulysses, whom *Homer* proposes as the Standard and Model of Humane Wisdom, suffers himself to be made Drunk by the *Pheatians*, for which *Aristotle* and *Philostratus* both blame this Poet. But what an Instance of Extravagancy, and of the greatest Carelessness was it, for that most accomplish'd Sage, so soon to forget his Wife, a Woman of such eminent Virtue, and his Son, that was so dear to him; to throw

away

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away so much time in the Arms of *Calipso*, a vile Prostitute, and to wander up and down so long after *Circe*, an Infamous Sorceress; and being no less than a King, to demean himself so low, as to enter the Lists with a pitiful rascally Beggar, called *Irus*. *Priam*, in the 24 *Iliad* does not speak like a Father; He expresses himself with a great deal of Barbarity towards his other Children, only to shew his Grief for the Death of *Hector*. He wishes them all dead, so *Hector* were but alive again. His Afflictions, I think, might certainly have been express'd some other way.

I shall say nothing of the Inhumanity of *Achilles* upon the Body of *Hector*, after he was dead, but only cite what *Cicero* says of it in the first Book of his *Tusculan Questions*. This Pleasure of dragging a dead Body, thus to be reveng'd of it, is not very Heroical. The Interview between *Ulysses* and the Daughter of *Alcinous*, in the sixth *Odyssey*, is contrary to all the Rules of Decency and Decorum; and that Princess forgets her Modesty, and betrays her Virtue, in giving too long Audience to the distressed Man, in yielding too much to his Complaints, and in too far Indulging her own Curiosity at the Sight of a Person in such desperate Circumstances.

Trahit Hectorem ad currum religatum Achilles, lacerari eum & sentire credo. putat, & ulciscitur ut sibi videtur. Cic. Tusc. l. 1.

In fine, there is but little Decorum observ'd in *Homer*'s Poems. Fathers are harsh and cruel, the Heroes weak and passionate, the Gods expos'd to Miseries, uneasie, and quarelsome, and incens'd against one another; there being not the least of that *Stoick* Philosophy throughout the whole, which *Zeno* and his Followers have taught Men since, to make them more rational, and more perfect, than the Gods of *Homer*. But in *Virgil*, every thing

preserves

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preserves its Character: *Drances* and *Turnus* quarrel there, but like Persons of Quality. The Passion of *Æneas* and *Dido*, is indeed pursu'd to the utmost Extremity; and yet there is no violation of Modesty, no breach of the Rules of Decency, nor any default in outward Behaviour. The Gods themselves are Persons of some Quality and good Repute. Whatever is Essential in the Arts of Decency and Decorum, is here most strictly observ'd. For *Virgil* has always follow'd that admirable Method he found in *Terence*, of whom *Varro* says, that he had, as to Morality and Decency, gain'd by far, the Advantage over *Cæcilius* and *Plautus*, who were as eminent for other Talents.

In Argumentis Cæcilium palmam poscit, in Sermonibus Plautum, in moribus Terentium.

But we must Pardon this Weakness in *Homer*, who wrote in a time, when the Precepts of Morality were scarce form'd. The World was as yet too young, to have learnt the Principles of true Honesty. Morality was more accomplish'd, and the Precepts of it better known in *Virgil*'s time, in whom we shall find them less defective, than in *Homer*. For *Virgil* could not himself dissemble his own Sentiments, as to the Injustice of the Civil War, tho' it occasion'd the Establishment of the Government, and of the Fortune of *Augustus* his Patron. He could not approve of it, and, as if he had been himself fraught with Republican Principles under a Monarchical Establishment, he condemns that Form of Government, but with the greatest Caution and Tenderness imaginable, by cajoling and flattering *Cæsar*, who was the Author of it.

Tuque prior, Tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo
Projice tela manu, Sanguis meus. ———

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And thou the first lay down thy lawless Claim,
Thou of my Blood who bears the Julian *Name.*
Mr. Dryden.

Thus was his Morality full of Honour and Integrity, and directly opposite to that Spirit of Flattery, which then, under the Monarchy, began to be countenanc'd.

CHAP. VIII.

Of THOUGHTS.

THoughts, which are the fourth Qualification of a Poem, have so great a Reference to, and Correspondence with Morality, that the Principles of the one, are likewise the Principles of the other: Nay, we may be allow'd to say, that Thoughts are in effect, but only the the Expressions of Morality. It is not therefore, much to be wonder'd at, that *Virgil* should have the Advantage of *Homer* in this Respect, since he had it after so singular a manner in the other. And for this he is indebted to the Age he wrote in, which was more polite and refin'd, than that in which *Homer* flourish'd, who made it not so much his business to think well, as to speak well; for his Thoughts are never so fine and delicate, as his Discourses. I shall not therefore stand to make a long Comparison between them, but only give you an Observation or two upon some of those Thoughts, which *Homer* inspires his Heroes with, from which we may form a Judg-

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Judgment of the Reſt. *Agamemnon*, in the firſt *Iliad*, ſays, that the Reaſon he retain'd *Chryſeis* was, that he had a greater Affection and Eſteem for her, than he had for *Clytemneſtra*. Here you may ſee an Inſtance of a kind and honeſt Husband forſooth, to prefer a Stranger before his own Wife, and a Slave before a Princeſs that was a Perſon of the higheſt Deſert.

Helen!

Neſtor, in the Ninth *Iliad*, tells *Agamemnon*, who deſires his Advice upon the Diſtraction of Affairs, occaſion'd by the Abſence of *Achilles*, that he will give him moſt incomparable Counſel, and that never any Perſon ſince the Foundation of the World had ever given better. The good Man is full of Vanity and Oſtentation, and conſidering his Character, he might indeed have been more Modeſt, and more upon the Reſerve. The Counſel too, he gives, is not ſo very extraordinary, it being no more than this, that *Achilles* ſhould be appeas'd, that all imaginable Satisfaction ſhould be given him, and that they ſhould oblige him to return to the Army. This argued no very great Depth of Policy; a Perſon of but ordinary Endowments might have given as good Advice.

Antilochus, his Son, in the 23 *Iliad*, ſpeaks to his Horſes; enters into a formal Diſcourſe with them, and conjures them to do their utmoſt, to exert all their Vigour to win the Race, from *Menelaus* and *Diomedes*, at the Games that were to be celebrated upon the Death of *Patroclus*. He encourages, and excites them with the moſt preſſing Earneſtneſs of Diſcourſe imaginable, yet with very Trivial and Childiſh Reaſons, telling them, that his Father *Neſtor* will turn them out of his Service, or cut their Throats,

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Throats, if they do not as they ſhould do. In ſhort, he becomes a very Pathetick Orator to meer brute Beaſts.

'Tis true indeed, *Plutarch* in his Treatiſe upon *Homer*, Apologizes for the Liberty the Poet took in making *Antilochus* in this place, and *Hector* in another, ſpeak to their Horſes, from his Opinion of the Tranſmigration of Souls, which he had taken from *Pythagoras*; but I will appeal to that Philoſophy, whether the *Metempſychoſis* renders Beaſts, leſs Beaſts than they were, and whether it Qualifies them to be more capable of attending to the Dictates of Reaſon.

Jupiter, in the Fifth *Iliad*, tells *Mars*, after that *Diomedes* had Wounded him, that he could no longer bear with him, that he juſtly deſerv'd the Misfortune that had happen'd to him, for his baſe Compliance with the Counſels of his Mother *Juno*, who was of an unruly Spirit, and of an Humour very untractable. What ſtrange Kindneſſes are theſe, for the Prince of the Gods to ſhow towards his Wife? What Comfort and Conſolation was this to his Son *Mars*, who was then newly Wounded? We ſhould never have done, ſhould we go on thus with theſe Remarks. Beſides, that *Virgil* is not ſubject to theſe Weakneſſes, he is always Serious, always Sublime and Lofty, to maintain and keep up the Character of his Heroes. He does not deſcend ſo low, as to Droll, and be Facetious and Merry, with great Familiarity; a thing ſo beneath the Dignity of his Rank and Station, and ſo contrary to all Decency, which *Homer* often forgot. For he puts off that Air of Grandeur and Majeſty, which ſo properly belongs to his Character; and every now and then, debaſes himſelf by degenerating into a looſe

loose and familiar way of Talking, and by turning things into Ridicule, under pretence of entertaining his Reader with something Pleasant and Diverting. As when, for Instance, in the Eighth Book of the *Odyssey*, he entertains the Gods with a Comedy, some of them he makes Buffoons, by introducing *Mars* and *Venus* on the Stage, taken in a Net *Vulcan* had lay'd for them, contrary to that Air of Gravity, which is so Essential to an Heroick Poem. The Scuffle between *Irus* and *Ulysses*, in the Eighteenth Book, borders much upon the Burlesque, as does likewise the Character of *Thersitis*, and the Story of *Venus*'s being wounded, in the *Iliad*. But to do *Homer* all the Right he deserves, we may very justly make this Reflexion, that the Weaknesses of this Poet, are not so much to be imputed to him, as to the Age he liv'd in, which was not capable of any greater Refinement, either in Thoughts or in Morals.

CHAP. IX.

Of WORDS.

AS Thoughts are the Expressions of Morality, so Words are the Expressions of Thoughts. And in this, which is the fifth Qualification, according to *Aristotle*'s Order, *Homer* Triumphs, as being that in which he is most accomplished. There is no contesting this with him; 'tis an Advantage he, without any manner of Dispute, has above all other Poets, and that in such a manner as cannot be well

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well expreſs'd. 'Twas this admirable Talent of Expreſſing things finely, that made *Sophocles*, who paſſes for the Model and Standard of Tragedy, his conſtant Admirer, and moſt exact Imitator: upon which account the Criticks call'd him *The great Lover of* Homer. For the ſame Reaſon it is, that *Plato*, in the Tenth Book of his *Republick*, ſtiles him the Prince of Heroick Poets. *Pindar* in the Seventh *Ode* of the *Nemæan* Games, Commends and Admires him upon no other account, but for the Loftineſs and Grandeur of his Style. And *Longinus* in his Treatiſe, propoſes him as the moſt perfect and lively Idea of a Majeſtick Style, and and always Quotes him as the only Model of the true Sublime.

In ſhort, it may be ſaid, that it is upon the account of this Qualification, that he hath thus impos'd upon all Antiquity; and that the Elegance and Beauty of his Words, was the Charm, that drew all the Men of Learning into ſo vaſt an Eſteem for him. For as the Pleaſantneſs and Luſtre of a Poem conſiſts entirely in the Expreſſions of it, which are generally the Principal Parts of its Beauty; *Homer*, who has excell'd all the Poets in the Nobleneſs, Elegance and Grandeur of His, has thereby deſerv'd, that Admiration which all Ages have had for him. 'Twas this that made *Pindar* (whom *Horace* propoſes as a Model), and all the *Greek* Lyricks deſpair of ever attaining to the Majeſty of *Homer*'s Verſe. And *Paterculus*, in the firſt Book of his Hiſtory, has this Commendation of him, *That he alone deſerv'd the Name of a Poet from the Delicacy and Sweetneſs of his Verſes.*

Pindarus Novemque Lyrici Homericis verſibus canere timuerunt. Satyr. Pet. *Fulgore carminum ſolus Poeta appellari meruit, molliſſima dulcedine carminum memorabilis.* Patercu.

'Tis upon the Score of this moſt admirable Advantage, that *Lycurgus* made ſo great an

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Ostentation of his Poetry, in the Oration he made against *Leocrates*; that *Æschylus* says in *Plutarch* and *Athenæus*, that his Tragedies are but the Crumbs of *Homer*'s great Banquets; that *Plato* affirms him to be the most Accomplish'd and the most Divine of all the Poets; that *Aristides* in the third Tome of his *Orations*, says, that no Man ever spoke better; and that *Aristotle* in his Treatise upon *Poetry*, likewise says, that he transcends all others in the Height and Grandeur of his Expressions. *Socrates* in one of his *Epistles* to *Xenophon*; *Xenophon* himself in his *Banquet*; *Democritus* in *Dion Chrysostome*; *Aristophanes* in the *Frogs*; *Hierocles* in his Fragments in *Stobæus*; *Hermogenes* in his *Ideas*; *Philostratus* in his *Heroick Images*; *Theocritus* in his sixteenth *Idyllium*; *Moschus* in his third; *Plutarch* in his Discourse he made upon *Homer*; *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* in the *Construction of Names*; *Jamblicus* in the Life of *Pythagoras*; *Origen* against *Celsus* in his seventh Book; *Maximus Tyrius* in his sixteenth Dissertation; *Lucian* in his Elogy on *Demosthenes*; *Themistius* in his sixteenth *Oration*; and an infinite Number of others, do Unanimously affirm the same thing.

But all these great Men, whom I have Nam'd, gave these their Commendations of *Homer*, only upon the account of the Beauty and Lustre of his Discourse, for which indeed, we cannot Admire, nor Praise him too much. And it must be acknowledg'd likewise, that upon this single Advantage, in which he Excells in a most Eminent manner, he justly deserves the Preference before *Virgil*, tho' *Virgil* be the most Prudent, the most Discreet, and the most Judicious of all that ever wrote.

CHAP.

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CHAP. X.

Reflections upon the Expressions of Homer *and* Virgil.

THere is still somewhat farther to be remarked concerning the Expressions of *Homer*, the Beauty and Lustre of which have so highly deserv'd the Esteem and Applause, even of all Antiquity.

The Transitions, which, answerable to their Design, ought to be very much varied for the greater Diversion of the Reader; are as near alike, and for the most part the same throughout the whole Work. We cannot reckon up above Twenty or Thirty different sorts in the whole Extent, of near thirty Thousand Verses, and consequently one and the same Connexion, commonly presenting it self, is very apt to give some distaste by so frequent a Repetition. This gave *Martial* an occasion to be Witty upon Τὸν δ' ἀναπλόμενον, and to say, that the *Latine* Muses were not so Light and Airy as the *Grecian* Muses were. *Qui Musas colimus Severiores.*

The Comparisons are flat, and forc'd, and sometimes not very Natural, and never very Excellent; tho' in so great a Number of them, it is impossible, but there must be some just and true. I shall say nothing of that, which is become so Famous for its Indecency and Meanness, that all the World have heard of it. For what can be more gross and absurd, and more flat, to say no worse, than to compare *Ajax* in the midst of an Engagement, surrounded by his Enemies on all sides, and overwhelm'd by

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the Number of repeated Blows, to an Ass feeding in a Field of Corn, which the Children would drive out from thence with their Poles? I leave it to any one to think, what a noble Effect such a piece of Fancy must needs have in a Poem so Grave and Serious as the *Iliad*; and I'll appeal to any Man's Judgment, whether the Colours of this Comparison afford us any thing Pleasant and Agreeable, tho' we allow it all the Advantages that can be: For there are some Grammarians, that pretend to have found out some Delicacy in it, and so by all means would justify the Comparison. But however, I shall not in the least scruple to own, that there are some most admirable Comparisons in this Poet, where we may find all the Beauties and Graces of Expression, which *Virgil* has taken the Advantage of, and plac'd them so well in his Poem, by giving them a new Turn, and a different Air.

Descriptions, which are look'd upon for the most part as Puerile, and too Light and Airy for Eloquence, are very frequent in *Homer*; they are spun out to too great a Length, and seem somewhat affected. The Description of the Gardens of *Alcinous* in the Seventh, and that of the Port of *Ithaca* in the Thirteenth *Odyssey*, are of this Nature. The Description of the Port, and that of the Grott, where the Nymphs Inhabited, take up Eighteen Verses, upon which *Porphiry* has wrote a Commentary. The Description of Mount *Ætna*, in the third Book of *Virgil*, is drawn within the Compass of a very few Verses, tho' he had a fair and just occasion of Dilating on that Subject, and *Phavorinus* in *Aulus Gellius* finds he might have enlarged. 'Tis true indeed, the Description of the Port of *Lybia*,, is in Ten Verses, and that

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that of Fame, in the Fourth Book, in more; but the former is Pardonable, upon the account, that it was Expedient to give the Readers Mind ſome eaſe, after the Relation of a Tempeſt; and it is, I muſt own, the largeſt Deſcription in the whole *Æneid*; and the latter, which is the Deſcription of Fame, is not truly the moſt exquiſite piece in that Author? For he is much upon the Reſerve every where elſe, and is not guilty of thoſe Childiſh trifling Eſſays, which *Horace* in his *Art of Poetry*, ſays, are Inſufferable in Matters Serious:

———Cum lucus & Ara Dianæ,
Et properantis Aquæ per amœnos ambitus agros.
Aut flumen Rhenum, aut pluvius deſcribitur Arcus.

Here they deſcribe a Temple or a Wood,
Or Streams that through delightful Meadows run,
And there the Rainbow, or the rapid Rhine.
E. of Roſcommon.

'Tis true indeed, theſe Deſcriptions of Woods, Temples, Rivers, the Rainbow, and other ſuch pleaſant things, have a reliſh of ſomething Childiſh, and as that great Man ſays, are as diſagreeable with great Subjects, as a piece of rich and very fine Cloath is with common and ordinary Stuff.

Incæptis gravibus plerùmque & magna profeſſis,
Purpureus latè qui ſplendeat unus & alter,
Aſſuitur Pannus. ———

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Some that at first have promis'd mighty things,
Applaud themselves, when a few florid Lines
Shine through the insipid Dulness of the rest.
E. of Roscommon.

These far fetch'd Beauties never Charm much, because where-ever they are plac'd, they have not a due Connexion and Coherence with, nor do they bear a just Proportion to the whole, by reason of their being too Glittering.

———*Non erat His locus.*

But they misplace them all, and crowd them in.
E. of Roscommon.

It must be acknowledg'd likewise, that *Homer* is more to be admired than *Virgil*, for his Epithets and Adverbs. This is indeed his Masterpiece; never was any Imagination Richer, more Fruitful, and more Happy, and 'tis no better than down-right Raillery, to pretend, that he repeats his πόδας ὠκὺς too often. 'Tis no such thing, 'tis a great piece of Injustice done him, to upbraid him with Poverty and Barrenness of Expression on this Account; for I my self have counted above Twenty other different Epithets in the *Iliad* for *Achilles* alone. *Virgil* in Comparison to *Homer*, is Poor indeed, as to these Circumstances, wanting all those kind of Ornaments, which arise from the rich and fruitful Treasure of the *Greek* Tongue, which the *Latine* could by no means boast of: And if we despoil *Homer* of his Epithets and Adverbs, we should Rob him of the best of his Graces. For without doubt, these are the most Ornamental Parts, and what add a very great Beauty to the whole. But

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But after all, it might be rightly obſerv'd, that theſe Epithets, which are ſo great an Ornament to the Poem, are very common and obvious. For without any more adoe, he calls Snow *White*, Milk *Sweet*, and Fire *Burning*. He does not endeavour and aim at ſo much Delicacy and Fineneſs, as our later Authors, who allow of no Epithets, as tolerable, if they have not a kind of counter-ſignification to the Words they are join'd with, to give a more extraordinary Air to the Diſcourſe, and make it Sparkle by a kind of Claſhing and Oppoſition of Words with one another; which deprav'd and vicious Palates reliſh as a piece of great Delicacy. For you'll find, that there are ſome that can diſcover ſomething ſtrangely entertaining in a Conjunction of ſuch Words as are at an irreconcileable Variance with one another; nay, of ſuch as are utterly inconſiſtent with one another. *Ovid*, in his *Metamorphoſis*, and in his *Epiſtles*, and *Velleius Paterculus* were the firſt, that gave this *falſe guſto* to the Age they liv'd in; an Age that was mightily devoted to Simplicity. *Seneca*, with all the great Declaimers of that Age, whoſe Fragments we read in his Controverſies, greatly affected to imitate them; but they did it without that good Management obſervable in *Ovid* and *Paterculus*, who knew how to uſe theſe falſe and counterfeit Jewels to the beſt Advantage. *Lucan* and *Tacitus*, Studied to make themſelves Maſters of this Character, and were the firſt Authors of that Art, which conſiſted in a Pleaſant and Merry Jingling of Words, that were oppoſite to one another, ſuch as Superficial Wits are ſo much Enamour'd with. And 'twas, in ſhort, from this Univerſal Debauch, from this general Corruption, that the Epigrams of *Martial*, and

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the Panegyricks of *Pliny*, *Pacatus* and *Mamertinus*, sprung up in after Ages. Not but that this way of Writing has its Beauties, but they are such as those Women are Celebrated for, who Patch and Paint, and use all External and Artificial Ornaments, because they have no Natural and Real ones.

Nor is it after all in the least to be denied, but that an Epithet that is bright and splendid, and judiciously plac'd, is a wonderful Ornament in a Discourse, as that us'd by *Dido* in her Epistle to *Æneas*; *Exerces pretiosa odia.*

To shun my Love, if thou wilt seek thy Fate,
'Tis a dear Purchase and a costly Hate.
Mr. Dryden.

Which you'll meet with in *Ovid*, whose *Heroides* I always esteem'd as the most Glittering and Resplendent of all those Works that are the pure Productions of the Mind, the true and genuine Results of Wit and Fancy, which our Poets will never attain to. Of the same Stamp and Character is the Title *Velleius Paterculus* confers on *L. Domitius eminentissimæ simplicitatis Virum*; and abundance of other such like Expressions, which may be found in those two Authors. But as these Words betray a certain Lustre, and are somewhat Brisk and Spritely, so some have been often wanting in that Moderation requisite to a just and true Management of them. For 'tis the common Fault of those that have the Art of Expressing themselves well, that they cannot govern themselves as to the number of their Words, but are apt to launch out too far, and, transported with the Success they meet with, let themselves entirely loose, and at length become very distasteful through

Hist. l. 2.

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through an exceſſive deſire of being over Pleaſant and Diverting in their Diſcourſe. So that it were much better, in order to avoid this Fault, and keep within the Limits of good Solid Senſe, eſpecially in a continued Diſcourſe, which ought to have ſome Characters at leaſt of Grandeur and Majeſty, and to ſhow ſomewhat of an exalted Genius; I ſay, it were much better to forbear the Uſe of thoſe nice Epithets which ſeem ſomewhat Abſtruſe and Myſterious. Thoſe which are the moſt Obvious, and which beſt expreſs the Nature of the things, are always the Choiceſt, and ſuch are thoſe which *Homer* us'd. I muſt confeſs indeed, that to Effect this, there is requiſite a far greater ſhare of Judgment and Diſcretion, than of Wit and Fancy; but Men never ſpeak well, but when they think wiſely, and ſuch as do that, are never behind hand in their Accounts, as the Critick has obſerv'd. Which is to be underſtood as well of the Nature of the Diſcourſe, as of the Morality of it.

Adeò nihil commodius quam ſemper cum ſapientiâ loqui.

CHAP. XI.

How the Character of Homer, *is to be diſtinguiſh'd from that of* Virgil.

TO Form a Judgment with ſome kind of certainty of theſe two incomparable Authors, 'twill be neceſſary to diſcern exactly between their ſeveral Characters, which are very oppoſite to one another. For *Homer* being inclin'd to ſpeak much, and *Virgil* to be ſilent; 'tis upon this difference that we muſt found our Diſtin-

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Distinction, and from hence make an exact Computation of their peculiar *Genius*, and of the essential Marks and Tokens of their Character: There are a sort of Men, who have the Vanity to set up for great Criticks, and pretend to give their Judgment of *Virgil*, from their grave and profound Reflections upon him, without ever in the least Observing in what the eminent Quality of the Fancy and Judgment of that Poet, by which he is always distinguish'd from the Rest, does principally consist: For my own part, who admire nothing so much in his way of writing, as that admirable Moderation and Reservation he is so much Master of in his Expressing of things, and in his not Expressing of any more than what is just requisite; I have ever been of Opinion, that by this Criterion alone we might distinguish him. A Man must be very Cautious, and use great Application in the Perusal of him, to find out, that his very Silence in some certain Passages, speaks more than we think of, and argues most exquisite Prudence and Discretion. For when he has once got the Method of sounding his Meaning, he'll find him sometimes as admirable in what he says not, as in what he says.

And for my part, I know not of any Author besides *Virgil*, that has such a stock of Prudence to guard and secure his Moderation and Sedateness amidst the Heat and Fury of an Imagination enflam'd by a Genius of Poesy, the most inspir'd that ever was. *Lucan*, in Comparison of him, is Rash and Inconsiderate, knowing no bounds, and *Statius* is again as Furious. *Ovid* himself cou'd never arrive to that Perfection, till toward the latter end of his Days, when he writ his *Fasti*, which is the only

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only Piece of all his Works, wherein he shows himself Moderate and Discreet, for in the Rest, he discovers much of Youth and Gayety. His Introductions of Examples and Comparisons in his Books *de Tristibus*, and his other *Elegies* do not come up to this Character; and his *Epistles*, which I look upon as the Flowers of the *Roman* Wit, have not the least of that Maturity of Judgment, which is the Sovereign Perfection of *Virgil*. And as to this particular, I may be allow'd to compare *Virgil* to those Generals of Armies, who carry about with them even in the very Hurry of a Fight all the Tranquillity and Composure of their Cabinet Counsels; and who in the greatest Heat of Action, amidst the Noise of Cannons, Drums, and Trumpets, and the general Distraction and Tumult of an Engagement, are not intent upon any thing but what their own Prudence and Moderation dictates to them, and act only as their own Reason, their most faithful Counsellour directs them. And this is a Character not to be found in any but Great Souls, and Persons of the most Consummate Wisdom, such as was *Virgil*; who in the Heat of his Poetick Fury, says no more than is proper to be said, and always leaves more to be thought of a thing, than he says of it.

This is a Commendation not much unlike that, which *Pliny* gives the admirable Painter *Timantes*, in the tenth Chapter of the 35 Book of his History. *Timanti plurimum adfuit ingenii, in omnibus operibus ejus intelligitur, plus semper quam pingitur.* Timantes *had a great Fancy in all his Pieces, there was always more understood than express'd.* And a little after he adds, to explain himself, *Rarum in successu Artis, ut ostendat etiam quæ occultat. He was peculiar in the Success of his Art,*

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Art, to display even those things which lay conceal'd.

Sumpsi aliquid hoc loco de tuâ Eloquentiâ, nam tacui. Ad Attic. Epist. l. 13.

And this in some Respect, resembles that wonderful and surprizing Eloquence which *Cicero* speaks of to his Friend. And in my Judgment 'tis in this exact Circumspection, and in this admirable Caution and Reservation that we shall find the true Character of *Virgil* to consist, who slightly passes over things as a Traveller in haste, without insisting too long on particulars. He generously prunes and cuts off all Superfluities, that he may retain only what is purely necessary. And in this consists the Excellency of a Work, which is never more perfect, than when there cannot be any thing cut off from it.

In this Perfection consisted likewise all that exquisite good Sense which flourish'd at *Rome* under the Reign of *Augustus*, and which was the distinguishing Character of all the great Wits that then writ, whom we look upon as the only Models of the Purity of the Language, and of that admirable way of Writing which is now so much in Vogue amongst us.

Of this we have an Instance in those Orders which *Augustus* gave *Tucca* and *Varius*, to take a Review of the *Æneid*, which the Author in his Will wou'd have had suppress'd, as not thinking it a compleat Poem. The Emperor gave them leave to cut off those parts that might be taken away without doing Injury to the whole, but expresly commanded them not to add in the least, nay, not so much as to fill up the Verses that were imperfect. 'Twas the Humour of that happy Age, to trench what they cou'd in their Compositions, to be sparing and frugal in their Expressions, and to speak but little. *Lucretius*, who was so Pure and so Polite, had not yet arriv'd to this Perfection. And *Catullus*, who was the first amongst the *Romans*, that began

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gan to give a fine Turn to the Language, to improve and heighten it with the Advantages of Elegance and Beauty, had not as yet learnt that great Precept, which *Horace* has ſince ſo much inculcated to his *Piſones*.

Prudens verſus reprehendet inertes.
Hor. Ar. Poet.

The Prudent Care of an Impartial Friend
Will give you Notice of each idle Line.
E. of Roſcommon.

——— *Ambitioſa recidet*
Ornamenta. Hor. Ar. Poet.

Or where it is too laviſhly beſtow'd.
E. of Roſcommon.

——— *Ut currat ſententia, neu ſe*
Impediat verbis laſſas onerantibus aures.
Hor. Sat. x. L. r.

Yet this I grant, a ſort of Excellence:
He muſt be ſhort, nor muſt he clog his Senſe
With uſeleſs Words, or make his Periods long,
They muſt be ſmooth, and ſo glide o'er the Tongue.
Mr. Creech.

Deterreret ſibi multa, recideret omne quod ultra
Perfectum traheretur. Hor. Sat. x. L. r.

He wou'd correct, he wou'd retrench his Senſe
And pare off all that was not Excellence.
Mr. Creech.

Nor

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Nor does he add any thing more in his Satyr upon *Lucilius*: And a little afterwards speaking of the same *Lucilius*, he says, that had he flourish'd in his time, he wou'd have known how to have Contracted himself, and without doubt wou'd have eraz'd a great many things out of his Verses. This was their way in those times, which they had learn'd from the Dictates of good Sense, which was then Triumphant. This was the Method *Virgil* has so well observ'd, and which makes up his essential Character; whereas, that of *Homer* consists in a prolix and tedious manner of Speaking and Relating things. He is the greatest Talker of all Antiquity; insomuch, that the *Greeks* themselves though chargeable with excessive Discoursing above all others, have reprehended *Homer* for that Intemperance of Words, as a considerable miscarriage in Discourse. He is ever upon his Rehearsals, and not only of the same Words, but of the same Things too, and so is in a perpetual Circle of Repetitions. It is true indeed, that he always speaks Naturally enough, but then he always speaks too much. The Adventures of *Ulysses* in *Ægypt*, which he himself relates to the good Man *Eumæus* his Hog-driver, are truly idle impertinent Stories purely for Amusement. There is no Thread in his Discourse, nor does it seem to tend to any propos'd End, but exceeds all manner of Bounds. That vast Fluency of Speech, and those mighty Overflowings of Fancy, which are so common with *Homer*, make him carry things far beyond the Mark they shou'd have been levell'd at, and from thence it is that the Draughts he has given us of things, are for the most part too Accurate; so that he leaves nothing to be perform'd by the Imagination of the Reader, who

περιττολογία.

for

for his own private Pleasure and Satisfaction, ought regularly to be as much taken up with what he himself thinks upon the Subject, as with what he reads upon it in others.

Upon this Account it is that *Virgil* never unravels the whole Matter, but leaves it to the Reflections of those that read him. Young Authors that are impertinent and affected, and that are carried away with a Flow of Words, and all those that have less Judgment than Fancy, cannot comprehend this Maxim. Because, for want of Experience, they follow the Natural Bent of their Inclinations; and, as through an excessive Desire of talking much, they carry things beyond their proper bounds, so they commonly present us with *Ideas* for true Objects, by making too accurate Representations of all the Matter they take in Hand. This is an Imperfection, which *Apelles* discover'd in the Painters of his Time, as *Cicero* observes. But we must remember that this is a Defect in reference only to the Expression. For it is a very great Excellency that any one can be Master of, to give the most Compleat Images he can of things, and always to raise his Superstructures upon the Ground-work of the greatest *Ideas*.

Pictores eos errare dicebat, qui non sentirent quid esset satis. Orat.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Unity of the Time, of the two Poems.

IT must be acknowledg'd, that there cannot be any thing said more to the Advantage of *Homer*, than what *Aristotle*, the Wisest and

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and most Judicious of all the Criticks, has said of him. He proposes him in his Poetry as the true Model of an *Epick* Poem, and Forms all his Precepts from the *Iliad*, and from the
Chap. 9. *Odyssey*. But on the other side, considering that *Aristotle* never met with in all his time but only two very wretched Poems, one upon *Hercules*, and the other upon *Theseus*, both which he speaks of in his Poetry; considering, I say, that he never saw any thing of that Nature, that could by any means come in competition with the *Iliad*, or the *Odyssey*, it is not much to be wonder'd at, that he takes these for a Model, the two others, being rather the Lives of *Hercules* and *Theseus*, than the proper Subjects of an *Epick* Action.

And 'twas this made *Horace* inveigh with so much Vehemency against those Poets he calls *Cyclick*, by reason of the purely Natural and Historical Representation they gave of things, by multiplying Matters directly contrary to to the Simplicity and Unity of Action, which is so Essential to the *Epopæa*. And upon this score we are now to Examine the Unity of the Poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, that nothing may be omitted, that is requisite to a just and exact Comparison.

I acknowledge, that as to the Unity of Time, the *Iliad*, and the *Odyssey*, have the Preference before the *Æneid*. For the Action of the *Odyssey*, from *Ulysses* his leaving *Calypso* to his being discover'd, lasts but five and Forty Days; and the Action of the *Iliad* is but Eight or Nine Months Duration at most, whereas the *Æneid* takes up a whole Year or more.

Nay, some pretend, that the Unity of Action is more perfect in the two Poems of *Homer*, than it is in that of *Virgil*, in as much as the Action

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Action of both of them, is not only one and the same, but also of one single Person. For *Achilles* does all things himself alone; and the same is said of *Ulysses*, who, as *Aristotle* affirms, re-establishes himself without the Assistance of any other, which seems to argue something of Greatness. *Æneas* does nothing without the help of his Companions, which is not so much to be wonder'd at. And *Paul Beni* observes, in the second of his *Academical Discourses*, that the Apologist of *Dante* pretends, that his Poem is a perfect Piece, because it is the Action but of one single Person: *Costui Poëma oltra esser Heroico è fatto anco di attione, di uno assolutamente solo. E ciò ad essempio, non gia de l' Eneide, ove con esercito opera Enea: ma ben dell' Iliade e Odissea: Dove al fin e Achille e Ulisse sola fa Heroiche imprese: perciò conclude che il Poema di Dante si a eccellentemente maraviglioso e illustre. This Poem, besides that 'tis an Heroick one, is also compos'd of Action, and that of one single Person only. And this, according to the Example, not only of the* Æneid, *wherein* Æneas *Acts with an Army, but likewise of the* Iliad *and the* Odyssey, *where* Achilles *and* Ulysses *perform alone all the Heroick Actions: whence he concludes, that* Dante's *Poem is excellently Wonderful and Illustrious.*

To this it may be answer'd, that the Unity of the Person is sufficiently preserv'd by that of his Character and Condition; and that an *Epick* Poem ought to present us with the perfect *Idea* of a great Commander and General of an Army, and not of a Knight-Errant, who commonly is no more than a meer Phantasm, and a Romantick Palladine: And that it frames a greater Character of a Heroe, and gives him a better Air of Dignity and Grandeur; it makes him a Sovereign, and the Head of the

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People, as *Paul Beni* observes in the same Passage: *L'attione Heroica debbe esser una d'un solo: ma però prencipe & capo da molti*: because, as he says, great Enterprizes, such as the Conquests of Countries and Kingdoms, and such as Sieges and Battels ought to be carried on by Armies, under the sober Conduct and entire Government of one single Person, which is as much as is requir'd for the Unity of Action. Besides, there is always a Defect, as to matter of Probability, in those Actions of Knight-Errants, and Solitary Worthies, such as *Hercules* was, which however set off, have too much of the Romance and Fable in them.

Nay, we may further add, that as to the Unity of Action, so it be rightly taken, we shall find it more perfect in the *Æneid*, than in the *Iliad*, where, after the Death of *Hector*, which ought to have clos'd the Action; there are still two Books to come, the 23d. which contains the Games that were celebrated for the Death of *Patroclus*, and which contribute nothing to the Principal Action; and the 24th. which expresses the Grief of the *Trojans*, and gives us an account of the Ransoming of *Hector*'s Body, which are Foreign to the Purpose, the Principal Action being perfect without them.

There is still this one fault more to be noted, that a Poem, the Author of which had no other design than to celebrate the Honour of the *Greeks*, should conclude with those Ceremonies that were Perform'd to *Hector*, the chief of their Enemies, where the Poet takes up a whole Book to give us a Description of his Funeral Solemnities. This seems in some manner to be a Defect, and is a proper Instance of what *Horace* hints at in that Passage

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ſage of his, which ſo few rightly underſtand.

——— *Amphora cæpit*
Inſtituit, currente Rotâ, cur Urceus exit?

When you begin with ſo much pomp, and ſhow,
Why is the End ſo little and ſo low?
E. of Roſcommon. Horat. Poetic.

Homer begins the beſt that can be imagin'd, for the Honour of the *Greeks*; their Glory is the only thing he purſues throughout the whole Work, and yet ends with that of *Hector*. Could not he have ſtop'd there, but muſt proceed to lament the Death of this Great Man, with ſo much Pomp and Magnificence? Is not this a Miſtake, thus to forget the Deſign he had at firſt Propos'd to himſelf? Does not the *Æneid* conclude much better with the Death of *Turnus*, which Period cloſes the Action. *Virgil* does not carry on things any further, he well-knew that he ſhould have been guilty of a Fault, had he not ſtop'd there.

CHAP. XIII.

A Compariſon of the fine and beautiful Paſſages in theſe two Authors.

IT now remains, that we make a Compariſon of the fine and beautiful Paſſages in theſe two Authors: But this is what we have already found to have been a difficult Undertaking in the Compariſon of *Demoſthenes* and

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Cicero; because 'tis no easy matter to give these choice Passages by a bare Translation of them, all that Force and Beauty, by which we may discover the true Value of them; and besides, the Taste and Relish of People differ so very much, that 'twill be hard to agree upon what Passages should be cited from both Authors, in opposition to each other, in order to make a just Comparison.

Quintilian, who always judg'd of *Homer* with excellent Judgment, and with the most exquisite discerning faculty of a true Critick, has, in the first Chapter of his Tenth Book, made a Collection of those Passages, which are of greatest Credit to the Poet, and add most to his Honour and Glory. He finds this Author admirable in general, upon all occasions of Exhortation, Perswasion and Consolation. The Deputing of *Phœnix* to go and move *Achilles*, in behalf of *Agamemnon*, in the Ninth Book, and all that is said upon that account, seems to him to be very wonderful and surprising. He highly commends the Liveliness and Brevity of that Story of the Death of *Patroclus*; and Quotes several other Passages as you may see in that Chapter, by which he has truly preserv'd the Character of an exact and of a very nice Critick: as the Prayer of King *Priam* to *Achilles*, for the Body of his Son *Hector*, and certain Combats, which he distinguishes from others. That which helps and contributes to the Order and Disposition of the Design in general, is what gives us a great Idea of this Poet. To observe all his Beauties, would require a Description of all his Narrations. For 'tis in these particularly, that he excells and surpasses all other Poets. To give you my own free Thoughts upon the Matter;

Quid in verbis, sententiis, figuris, dispositione totius operis? Nonne humani ingenii modum excedit?

the

the Places that moſt affect me, are theſe. The Jealouſie rais'd between *Achilles* and *Agamemnon*, upon the account of their Miſtreſſes, which cauſes a Diviſion between the two Generals, and on which the whole Intrigue of the *Iliad* turns, as 'tis Repreſented in the firſt Book, than which, nothing can be more happily deviſ'd. The Catalogue of Ships, and Enumeration of the *Grecian* Fleet, in the ſecond Book, carries in it, ſomething that's Great, beſides a wonderful Variety, and a thorough Acquaintance with the State of Antient *Greece*, and its People. The Interview between *Hector* and *Andromache* towards the Concluſion of the Sixth Book of the *Iliad*, is one of the moſt delicate, and moſt finiſh'd pieces in *Homer*. Every thing there is moving, ſoft, and tender, and natural, in what they ſay one to another, concerning little *Aſtyanax*, who was at this laſt Conference. The Fright the Youth is in at the Sight of his Father in Armour, Preſents us with an exquiſite Scene of Nature. The Encounter between *Hector* and *Ajax*, is deſcrib'd in very bright and lively Colours. The Poet impreſſes upon his Reader, the very Idea he had himſelf of theſe two mighty Champions, in deſcribing their Air and Mien; and raiſes noble Images of them, only in ſpeaking of their Preparations to the Combat. And through the whole Deſcription, there is ſecretly diffus'd ſuch a Spirit of the true Sublime, that it fails not to affect the Senſes in the higheſt manner, by Working up this Conflict to thoſe Degrees of Heat, Rage and Terrour, that the two Heroes, having quite exhauſted their Spirits, and ſpent all their Vigour in a mutual Reſiſtance, and at laſt being ſeparated by the Interpoſition of the Night, out of a

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deep Sense of each other's Bravery and Valour, send Presents to each other, and so wind off their strong Resentments, that were carried on with so much Fury and Animosity, into a stronger Knot of Reciprocal and Inviolable Friendship, from a just Love of, and Veneration for Heroick Virtue. In fine, this whole Piece has nothing in it but what is truly Great and Elevated, nothing but what represents the most Perfect Heroe, every part breathing an Air of Courage and Generosity.

It may be said likewise, that there are few Places comparable to the Entry of the sixteenth Book, where *Patroclus* throws himself at *Achilles* his Feet, endeavouring so to soften the obdurate Heroe with his Tears, as to prevail on him to take up Arms and repulse the *Trojans*, who had forc'd the *Greeks* to their Ships, that were already set on fire. *Achilles*, mov'd with the Tenderness of these Tears of his dear *Patroclus*, demands the Reason of them, upbraiding him with Weakness and Effeminacy. *Patroclus* points at the Destruction the Fire began to make in the *Grecian* Fleet, and tells him that he was more relentless than a Rock, and that he, that cou'd be a cold and unconcern'd Spectator of his own Men and Ships thus perishing in the Flames, cou'd not have *Peleus* for his Father, or the Goddess *Thetis* for his Mother; but must have been begotten by the Sea, amidst the raging Waves. *Achilles*, upon this Reproach, gives his Armour to *Patroclus*, and puts his Troops under his Command, to go and execute what his Resentments wou'd not suffer him himself to do; and the Result of so Pathetical an Interview, proves of the same Force. Those other Places, *Longinus* gives such high Encomiums of, in his seventh Chapter,

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ter of the Sublime, *viz.* the 20 and 21 Books of the *Iliad*, where the Poet describes the Combats of the Gods in so exalted a Strain, carry in the Expression so much Grandeur and Majesty as is truly Sublime and Magnificent.

But, as I have before observ'd, a Man ought to make an Extract of the whole *Iliad*, to descry all its Beauties; and the same must be done of the *Odyssey* too, which carries in it Graces altogether singular, and not inferiour to the very Finest of those in the other Poem. Amongst the Adventures of *Ulysses*, in the ninth Book, (if you'll take the Judgment of *Demetrius Phalareus*) you'll meet with a Piece of Sublime strangely horrible, which is an Original of this Poet's, introduc'd in order to draw the Character of *Polyphemie* in a new Set of Colours. This entire *Episode*, together with the Adventures of this Heroe after *Calypso* and *Circe*, is a Piece of exquisite Contrivance.

I shall say nothing of all the Relations *Ulysses* makes to the good Man *Eumeus*, upon his return to *Ithaca*, and of his wonderful Management to Re-establish himself. That whole Story is dress up in Colours so Decent, and at the same time so Noble, that Antiquity can hardly match any part of the Narration. The Unravelling the whole *Odyssey* by the Death of *Penelope*'s Gallants, has something very great and very becoming a Heroe, in the Course and Conduct *Ulysses* takes to defeat them, in order to revenge himself of the Disorders they had brought into his House by their unjust and insolent Proceedings. This is a short Sketch of those Places, where *Homer* has display'd himself to the greatest Advantage. There are an infinite Number of others to be noted, were we to make an exact Scheme. What we have

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done, may be sufficient to give Light to those curious Enquirers, that have a mind to find out all his Beauties, and discover all his Excellencies.

I must own, that for the Grandeur and Pomp of his Narrations, *Homer* is incomparable, and that *Virgil* cannot come near him; but it cannot at the same time but be acknowledg'd, that there are Beauties in *Virgil*, by which he has much the Advantage of *Homer*, whose thoughts of things are too Natural. *Virgil* carries it for the Delicacy of his Design, of his *Ideas*, of his Inventions, of his Thoughts, of the whole Catalogue of his Expressions. For to unravel this Point, what can there be imagin'd more Insinuating than the *Apotheosis* of *Anchises* in the fifth *Æneid*, by which he so highly Flatters *Augustus* and the *Romans*, and Complements them with an Extraction, the Divinity of which he has himself so ingeniously Establish'd. Not to mention the most Illustrious *Roman* Families, allegorically decipher'd in the Combats describ'd in the same Book, the Mystery and Application of which, *Paul Beni* explains in his Commentaries upon *Virgil*.

What is there to be found in all *Homer* comparable to that Passage, which I have ever look'd upon as of exquisite Delicacy, in the sixth *Æneid*, where *Virgil* is content to allow the *Greeks* the Glory of being a People of great Wit and Ingenuity, reserving to the *Romans* that of Authority and Power?

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,
Orabunt causas melius, &c.
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Others

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Others shall best inspire the mimick Brass,
Or out of Marble carve a living Face:
Plead with more force and trace the Heavenly
Describing the wide Empire of the Gods: (Roads,
The wandring Stars to steady Rules confine,
And teach expecting Mortals when they'll shine.
Thee Heaven, brave Roman, Form'd for high Com-
Be these thy Arts, from thy victorious Hand (mand,
To make glad Nations own their Peace bestow'd,
To spare the Suppliant, and pull down the Proud.
Mr. Basil. Kennet.

What shall I say of that Wish, or rather, of that Imprecation of *Dido*?

Littora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
Imprecor.

In the fourth Book, which produces so admirable an Effect, in order to the War between *Rome* and *Carthage*, and that by the Expression of so passionate a Revenge, as is discover'd in the following Verses.

Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor
Qui face Dardanios ferroq; sequare colonos
Nunc olim, &c.

Now and from hence in ev'ry future Age
When Rage excites your Arms, and Strength supplies
Rise some Avenger of our Lybian Blood, (the Rage
With Fire and Sword pursue the perjur'd Brood;
Our Arms, our Seas, our Shores, oppos'd to theirs,
And the same Hate descend on all our Heirs.

This, in the obscurity of future Events, does with the most lively Colours, Point out to us the Great *Hannibal*, the most Formidable, and the

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the most Illustrious Enemy of the *Roman* Commonwealth, with whom it was so long Disputing the Empire of the World. This is a Passage of *Roman* History, so nicely touch'd upon, that there is nothing like it in all that this Poet has writ. The Death of *Marcellus*, in the sixth *Æneid*, is of the same Force, but has something in it more Insinuating, something more Exquisite and Fine, as is evident from the Impression it made upon *Augustus*, and more particularly upon *Octavia* the Mother of that young Prince, who fell into a Sound at the very Recital *Virgil* made of it, in the Emperor's Presence.

I shall say nothing of all those Complaints of *Dido* in the fourth *Æneid*, which made St. *Augustin* so often Weep, as he himself professes in his *Confessions*. He was far enough from being thus transported with *Homer*, on whom he passed no better a Complement, than to call him *dulcissimè vanum*. In a Word, *Virgil* is much more Solid, and his Expressions make a greater Impression upon his Readers, because they have something in them that is more Real. He does not speak with such an Air of Levity, His very Discourses, even those that express the greatest Tenderness and Passion, and which in all others, carry along with them certain Marks and Tokens of much Lightness, have not any thing in them that is Vain, Frivolous or Chimerical. There is nothing but what has some Foundation or other, and his very Words are so many things, which makes him more Moving and Pathetical.

Lib. 1. Cap. 14.

There are yet a thousand other Passages, which I shall not insist on, as that in the second *Æneid*.

Iliacæ

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Iliaci Cineres & flamma extrema meorum,
Teſtor in occaſu veſtro nec tela, nec ullas
Vitaviſſe vices Danaûm.

Ye Trojan Flames, your Teſtimony bear
What I perform'd, and what I ſuffer'd there,
No Sword avoiding in the fatal Strife,
Expos'd to Death, and Prodigal of Life.
Mr. Dryden.

Which alone deſtroys all the Objections that may be made againſt *Æneas*, in point of Valour. As the Death of *Dido*, ſo pathetically deſcrib'd, the Beginning of which is thus.

At trepida & cœptis immanibus effera Dido
Sanguineam volvens aciem, &c.

But furious Dido, *with dark Thoughts involv'd,*
Shook at the mighty Miſchief ſhe reſolv'd.
With livid Spots diſtinguiſh'd was her Face,
Red were her rolling Eyes and diſcompos'd her Pace
Ghaſtly ſhe gaz'd, with Pain ſhe drew her Breath,
And Nature ſhiver'd at approaching Death.
Mr. Dryden.

As the Abridgment of the *Roman* Hiſtory engrav'd upon the Shield, in the eighth Book; the Explication of the Deſtinies of the *Roman* Empire by *Jupiter*, in the firſt; the Conqueſts of *Auguſtus*, to whom he Dedicates his Work, in the ſixth; which furniſh out a moſt admirable Panegyrick on that Emperor.

Hic Vir, hic eſt tibi quem promitti ſæpius audis
Auguſtus Cæſar.

Now

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Now fix your ſight and ſtand intent to ſee
Your Roman *Race, and* Julian *Progeny.*
The mighty Cæſar *waits his vital Hour, (Pow'r.*
Impatient for the World, and graſps his promis'd
But next, behold the Youth of Form Divine,
Cæſar *himſelf exalted in his Line;*
Auguſtus *promis'd oft and long foretold,*
Sent to the Realm that Saturn *rul'd of old;*
Born to reſtore a better Age of Gold.

Mr. Dryden.

And all thoſe curious Inſinuations, by which he ſo artfully works himſelf into the very Soul of his Reader, and inſpires into him his own Paſſions and Affections, which throughout the whole ſo lively expreſſes his *Genius*, and are, as ſo many Miracles of Art, imperceptible to mean Capacities, and not in the leaſt diſcoverable, but to thoſe that are moſt intimately Converſant with him. For there is a greater Penetration and Perſpicacity of Apprehenſion requiſite to diſcover what is good and excellent in a Work, than to find out what is defective; becauſe the Deformities of a Piece are generally more remarkable and conſpicuous than the true and real Beauties of it, which eaſily elude the Eye, eſpecially of thoſe, whoſe Apprehenſion is but dull and ſtupid, and are known only to ſuch as are of a more enlightned Underſtanding, of more rais'd and exalted Faculties.

But as the nobleſt Paſſage in all *Virgil*, and his real Maſter-piece, is the Paſſion of *Dido*; I cannot paſs it by without a Reflection or two, above what I have made on any of the Reſt. Never certainly, did Eloquence employ all its Advantages of Artifice and Ornament in any one work with ſo much Life and Vigour, and

with

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with ſo great Succeſs as in this. All the Degrees of that Paſſion, and all the Redoublings of that growing Affection, and of that great and known Frailty of the Sex, are there diſcover'd in ſuch a Manner, as raiſes the Admiration even of the beſt Judges; and truly, the better able they are to judge in theſe Caſes, the more will they be diſpos'd to underſtand the Excellency of that Paſſage, and to admire all the Parts of it. All is tender, delicate and paſſionate in the Deſcription of that Adventure, and the World is not likely ever to ſee any that ſhall exceed it.

Taſſo perhaps may have ſome Paſſages that are more brillant, as that of the Adventure of *Tancrede* and *Clorinda*; but if we take a View of him on all ſides, we ſhall find that all the Proportions and Correſpondencies with the Principal Action do not ſeem to be ſo exactly obſerv'd there, as they are in that of *Dido*.

There is one thing, notwithſtanding, all this that is obſerv'd by ſome in Prejudice of *Virgil*, and by way of Reproach; which is, that he has done great Diſhonour to that Princeſs by repreſenting her under the Hurry and Violence of a Paſſion, that was ſo inconſiſtent with her true Character: For Hiſtory makes her a Lady of very good Repute. But this is an Artifice the moſt Subtle and the Niceſt of any to be met with in *Virgil*, who to bring into contempt a Nation, that was afterwards to become ſo odious and deteſtable to the *Romans*, conceiv'd himſelf oblig'd not to celebrate any Virtue in her, who was the Founder of it; imagining that he might with great Security ſacrifice her the better to flatter his own Country, which no doubt wou'd have been ſhock'd at the Character Hiſtory gave of that Princeſs. And as this

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this Contrivance was carried on only to cajole the *Romans*; yet, though the Poet look'd upon them as Masters of the World, with whose Sentiments all other Nations ought to comply, or at least to conform to; he thought himself oblig'd to use all imaginable Precaution, to prepossess their Minds, upon thus disguising the Truth. In order to this, he cunningly brings the Gods into the Plot, and by the Interposition of a Machine or two, puts a better Gloss upon Sacrificing the Princess. *Venus* and *Cupid*, engage in the Design. Nay, he makes them use all their Art to stifle whatever Good common Fame had said of that Queen. This is the Subject of *Juno*'s Complaint to *Venus*, which serves only to show us what mighty Application those two Deities us'd to surprize, and at last reduce so virtuous a Dame.

Egregiam vero laudem & spolia ampla refertis
Tuq; puerq; tuus, &c.

High Praises, endless Honours you have won,
And mighty Trophies with your worthy Son.
Mr. Dryden.

The Characters of *Sinon* in the Second *Æneid*, and that of *Mezentius* in the Eighth and Tenth, are likewise most accomplish'd Pieces. *Homer* has indeed more of that kind, and a greater Variety of them; but those, in which *Virgil* has given us the nicest Touches of his Art, are more finish'd Draughts than those of *Homer*. He is more Mysterious, and has more Design in him, and is an entire Master of that secret Art of Expressing things well.

It must however be acknowledg'd, that *Homer* has a richer stock of Invention, more Sprite-

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Spiteliness, and a finer Turn, and a more delightful Form of Verse; that he has a more sparkling and brillant Air of Expression, and that his Words are more resounding, his Periods rounder, and more proper and suitable for Poesie, and such as better fill the Ear; for a Defect of which *Cicero* found fault with *Demosthenes*. Upon this Account, indeed, *Homer* is far beyond *Virgil*, and the Ear is much better pleas'd with the Harmony and Numbers, and with the whole Cadency of his Verse, because the *Greek* Tongue has all those Advantages of the *Latin*, which is more Reserv'd, and more upon the Restraint, and which too is more Grave and Serious. True it is: I must confess, that he has a greater Extent of Matter, and affords his Reader a larger Prospect; but yet, his Fancy often hurries him from one place to another; he is not so entirely Master of it, as *Virgil* is of his. 'Twas the want of this good Conduct that made him commit so essential a Fault, as that, of adding the two Books of the *Iliad* after the Close of the Action, one of the Death of *Hector*, the other of the Games celebrated in Honour of *Patroclus*; and of adding likewise one after that of the *Odyssey*, which is the mutual Discovery of *Ulysses* and *Penelope* to each other. For as every Poem, as well *Epick* as *Dramatick*, ought to have its Period with that of the Principal Action, so after the Close of that, which ought to put an end to all things, there can be no farther Addition without great Extravagance.

Usque eò difficiles ac morosi sumus, ut nobis non satisfaciat Ipse Demosthenes, non semper implet aures meas ita sunt avidæ & capaces & semper aliquid immensum infinitumque desiderant. Cic. in Brut.

I find but few Passages in *Homer*, that may be oppos'd to those of *Virgil*. Yet I cannot forbear, being very much enravish'd with that in the Sixth Book of the *Iliad*, where *Andromache*, who was so Chast and Virtuous a Woman

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man, bids a final Adieu to *Hector* her Husband who was then entring upon his last Engagement with *Achilles*. In a Word, 'tis utterly impossible to imagine, that there can be any thing that can show greater Tenderness than the Circumstances of this last Adieu, at which, under an apprehension of something Disastrous, she lets fall a Tear, a thing unusual to her who was a Lady not subject to the least Weakness: And the Poet says, what is indeed delicately Fine, that *she began to lament with her Women, the death of* Hector *who was yet alive.*

Ἔτι ζωὸν ἀπὸ Ἕκτορος.

'Tis true, that whereas People generally bewail the Death of those Persons only that are really dead, but she the Death of one that was then actually alive; this Expression, has all the Tenderness in it that can be well imagin'd. The Entertainment that *Alcinous* gave *Ulysses* is better manag'd, and is a more splendid Treat, than that *Dido* gave *Æneas*. At *Alcinous* his Entertainment, they sing the Amours of *Mars* and *Venus*; but at *Dido's*, as more agreeable and suitable to the growing Passion, and succeeded Adventures of that Queen, *Jopas* Celebrates on his tuneful Harp, the Courses of the Stars. After all, though the Expressions in *Homer* are always full of Life and Vigour, yet the things he says are Languid and Faint. His *Proteus*, in the Fourth *Odyssey*, is more Ingenious and fuller of Invention, than that of *Virgil* in his Fourth *Georgick*, though the latter is more Judicious. The Oath of *Calypso* in the Fifth *Odyssey*, is Great and Sublime; but the Probability is very ill obsery'd in relation to that Vessel, which the Poet makes *Ulysses* build all

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all alone, without any assistance, or without the least Experience, in the Island *Calypso*, detain'd him in, and all this within the compass of four or five Hours, and in a Vessel too, in which there was nothing in the least defective. To me the Transformation of *Æneas* his Ships into so many Sea-Nymphs, as it is describ'd in the 10. *Æneid*, seems to have but very little Probability in it, but I appeal to better Judges. The Repetitions of the Number of the *Grecian* Fleet, are too frequent; every Squadron, for the most part, terminates in one and the same Verse;

Μίλαιναι νῆες ἔπονττο.

and all the Entertainments that are made in the *Iliad*, are every one after the same manner, without the least Variety.

And in truth, *Ulysses* his Discovery of himself to his Wife *Penelope*, which was the most favourable Passage that could be, for the Poet to give us some of the nicest Touches of his Art, seems flat and dull. It has nothing but faint and weak Surprizes, cold and languishing Astonishments, and very little of that Delicacy and Exquisiteness, which ought to express a real Tenderness. *Penelope* is too long Obstinate, in Opposing the Reasons that are alleg'd to persuade her that he is her Husband, who contributes not the least himself towards his own Discovery. He leaves his Wife too long in doubt and distrust, she is too cautious and circumspect; the Formalities she observes in being thoroughly assur'd, and with Security, are there set down in Number and Measure, lest there should be any Mistake committed, which to me has something that is dull and

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heavy, in a place which requir'd so much Briskness and Livelines. Ought not the secret Instinct of her Love to have inspir'd her with other Thoughts, and ought not her Heart to have told her, what her Eyes did not? For Love in penetrating, and being surrounded with Rays of Light, pierces thorough all; it has a small still Voice, which Whispers more to us, than the Senses can convey. But *Homer* understood not this Philosophy, which the *Italians* have since so much taught: and *Virgil*, who makes *Dido* foresee the Design *Æneas* had of leaving her, before she had Intelligence brought her of it, would have made better Advantage of that Occasion.

It must however, be acknowledg'd, with *Longinus*, that there can be nothing, that can be conceiv'd, to be more Exalted, and more Sublime, than what *Ajax* says, when abandon'd to Despair, as he was: When he requests of *Jupiter*, upon an Engagement, in which the *Greeks* had the disadvantage, by Reason of the dark Night, that he might not fall in Obscurity, and in the dead of Night, but Breath his last with the Morning Light. It cannot be denied, but that *Homer* is as Exalted in his Thoughts as in his Expressions; and 'tis on this account, that *Longinus* always proposes him as the most accomplish'd Character of the true Sublime. The Silence of *Ajax*, as to meeting *Ulysses* in Hell, in the Eleventh *Odyssey*, is of this Nature, it is more expressive, than all that could possibly have been said on that occasion. And this great Man, of a Character fierce and untractable, as *Homer* has drawn him, could not have made a better Return to those Compliments full of Submission, which *Ulysses* paid him, than by a disdainful and

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and contemptuous Silence: *Ajax* has more the Air of Grandeur and Majesty when he says nothing, than when the Poet makes him speak.

CHAP. XIV.

That Homer *is more Moral and Sententious than* Virgil.

THIS is an Advantage too, we must not dispute with *Homer*, for it is so apparently on his side, that *Macrobius* in the sixth Chapter of the Fifth Book of his *Questions*, says, that *Homer* has stufft his Poems with Sentences, and that his good Sayings pass for Proverbs all the World over. And one of our own Nation hath lately oblig'd the World with a considerable Volume of Sentences, collated out of *Homer* upon all Moral Subjects, which he has reduc'd into common places.

Homerus omnem Poesin suam ita sententiis farsit, ut singula Ejus Apophthegmata vicem proverbiorum in civium ore fungantur.

But however, I dare affirm, with *Heinsius*, in his Poetical Treatise upon *Aristotle*, that these Sententious Reflections of Morality are more proper for the Theatre, and are rather of the *Dramatick* kind, than of the *Heroick*; the Essential Character of which is *Narration*, which ought to be one continued Thread of Discourse, Natural and Simple, without the least Affectation of Figures, and without all that Magazine of Reflections, which deprive the whole of its true Colour and Force: a Fault which that excellent Critick, the Author of the *Satyricon*, finds in the Declaimers of his Time. *By your Discourses, that are made up of*

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Inanibus sonis ludibria quædam excitando effecisti, ut corpus orationis enervaretur, & caderet.

nothing but Words of empty Sounds; that consist only in jingling Sentences, and rumbling Periods, you have enervated the Body of the Oration, and brought it to the Ground.

In a word, all that Energy, which some pretend commonly to Collect together, and to inclose within a small compass of Words, in order to make up a Sentence, is wont extreamly to weaken the rest of the Discourse, by Robbing it of its Natural Simplicity, and giving it a forc'd Air. For this Reason it is, that *Livy* is a more compleat Historian than *Tacitus*, for he has fewer Reflections, which are things more proper for the *Theatre*, than for *History* and *Narration*. *Cicero* is of the same Opinion, in one of the Books of his *Rhetorick*. So that Sentences and Moral Reflections are Beauties, not agreeable in an *Epick* Poem, because disproportion'd to *Narration*, the Principal and Essential Character of it. However, the Poet may intermix some Sentences or Reflections, when he makes the Actors themselves, whom he introduces, speak; but he ought not to do this when he speaks himself; and if it be upon any account allowable, it must be but very seldom, and then too, it must not seem to have been aim'd at.

Sententias interponi raro convenit, ut rei Actores non viventi præceptores esse videamur. Ad Heren. lib. 4.

As to this, we may securely imitate *Livy*, who in the Body of his History, inserts but a very few of this Nature, but reserves them to be said by those whom he makes speak. So that the Poet is to let 'em pass by without affecting to be himself the Utterer of them, much less to disperse and scatter them up and down as *Homer* does: and it is a great Mistake in any one, to value him purely on this account

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count, because this Affectation is certainly an Imperfection, which *Virgil* found out a way to avoid. For he well consider'd, that there was nothing that could be more directly contrary to that Unity and Simplicity he had made such profession of, than those glittering Words and Thoughts, which seem independent of the Discourse, and as it were Jutting out of the Structure, as not bearing a Proportion to the whole; and serving only to magnifie the Objects, and make 'em look more Enormous; and rendering the Sentences more Sonorous.

Rerum tumore, & sententiarum venustissima flexu.

And this has some reference to that grand Precept of Natural Reason, which one of the most expert, and most refin'd Criticks of all Antiquity, gave heretofore to those that made it their business to write, and which is not, to this very Day, rightly understood. I forbear to Translate it, that all may be at liberty to render it according to their own private Sense of it. It is enough for me, and a sufficient Confirmation of what I am insisting on, that it appears, that this Author in the Passage we have cited, condemns those Thoughts which too strong and too brisk an Expression, renders in some sort disproportionable to the Body of the Discourse. He would have nothing over exquisite, or too far fetch'd, but that all its Lustre be as Natural as Colours in our Habits. And 'tis this sort of plain and common Words, says he, that Natural Reason and good Sense, did dictate to *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, and which they themselves found most proper to make use of, long before it was thought adviseable to shut up the Youth in Schools, and confine all the Exercises of the Mind to pure Declamations. In a word, all these Ornaments of Words and Thoughts, which

Curandum ne Sententiæ eminentes extra Corpus Orationis expressæ, sed intextæ vestibus colore niteant. Satyr.

Nondum Juvenes declamationibus continebantur: cum Sophocles & Euripides invenerunt verba quibus deberent logui.

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which are so far fetch'd, and so frequent, despoil the Discourse of its Natural Beauty, and true Dignity. And this is an Universal Principle for all those things, the Grandeur of which, join'd with a Regular Simplicity, makes up all the Excellence and Perfection they are remarkable for: As we may see in Painting and Architecture, where great Contrivances and good Fancies, are not so well express'd by the Number and Variety of Ornaments, as by a plain Uniform, and regular Position, which gives each Design its true Grandeur and Majesty.

Gravitas minuitur exornationibus frequenter collocatis, quod est in his lepos & festivitas, non dignitas neque pulchritudo. Cic. ad Heren. l. 4.

These very Thoughts, which are so much upon the Wing, and which we call fine and delicate Fancies, become insupportable in any Discourse, unless manag'd with some Moderation. Nothing tires so much as great Objects, which are too resplendent, and bear not the least proportion with the Faculties of our Souls, which grow languid upon a view of any thing that is unnatural, as our Eyes are weaken'd by too great a Light; for these Faculties are limited and confin'd within certain bounds.

Quod est nimium offendit vehementius, quam quod est parum. Cic. Orat.

CHAP. XV.

After what Manner, and in what Respects, Homer *has the Glory of Invention above* Virgil.

INvention, which is one of the most Essential Qualities of a Poet, is in the Number of those Advantages, upon the Score of which,

Homer

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Homer deserves the preference to *Virgil*. For he is the Model and Original by which *Virgil* form'd his whole Design. But we are to observe, that, as *Aristotle* in his *Poetry* makes mention of a little *Iliad*, which *Suidas* ascribes to one, nam'd *Antimachus*, and which was the Abridgment of a greater, and from which there is some probability, that *Homer* fram'd his; it may be conjectur'd from thence, that the Glory of Invention was not wholly due to him.

Besides, we read in *Athenæus*, in his third Book, that one *Hegesianax* had wrote in Verse long before *Homer*, what had pass'd at the Siege of *Troy*. *Cicero* likewise makes mention of one, nam'd *Calisthenes*, who had wrote upon the same Subject. 'Tis true, that he liv'd in the time of *Alexander*, which was some Ages after *Homer*, but it is to be believ'd, that he had different Collections from those of *Homer*, because he has given a quite different Account of that Expedition, from that which *Homer* has oblig'd the World with.

Suidas tells us, that *Corinnus*, a Disciple of *Palamedes*, had also written an *Iliad* in Verse, about the time that *Troy* was taken; and that another Poet, nam'd *Syagrus* contemporary with *Homer*, had likewise wrote on the same occasion; and that all these Works were by *Homer*'s means suppress'd, who was not so Blind, some have imagin'd, but that he took care to transmit down to Posterity, his own Labours by themselves, entire and alone, that so he might pass for the first Author of the *Iliad*. And as he had others for his Model, as *Virgil* had him, so it were much to be wish'd, that it were in our Power to know, whether he has been as happy in imitating others, as *Virgil* has been in imitating him.

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Lib. 13. c. 14. Hist. Nat.

But it will be a great Diminution of that Esteem, which all Antiquity has had for *Homer*, if we give Credit to what *Ælian* says, in his History. He pretends, that it was the Opinion of the Learned, in his Time, that *Homer* made the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, only by pieces, and at Starts, not proposing to himself any continued Design, and that he had given no other Title to those several Parts he had compos'd without any Order, in the Heat of his Fancy, and the Impetuosity of his Genius, than that of the Subject Matter he treated of; as, *The Valour and Prowess of* Agamemnon; *The Games instituted for the Funeral Solemnity of* Patroclus; *The Engagement near the Ships, and their Number*, and so of the rest; that he had likewise done the same for the *Odyssey*: that *Lycurgus* was the first that brought from *Ionia* to *Athens*, those several parts distinct from, and independent of one another, without the least Connexion, or Coherence, and that *Pisistratus* was the Person that put them into Form and Method, and of them made up the two Poems of the *Iliad*, and of the *Odyssey*, which we now have. And from hence, as some would have it, is deriv'd the Name of *Rhapsodies*, which hath since been given to these two Poems.

But I cannot by any means persuade my self to assent to this Story; for it were effectually to rob *Homer* of his greatest Glory, to deny, that he himself put his own Poem into that Order it is now in, or that he form'd the Design with that Unity and Continuation we observe in it now. This is a Weakness, with which we can by no means charge this great Man; especially considering, that *Aristotle* hath stamp'd an Authority on that Belief, which has

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has been since eſtabliſh'd in all Ages; to wit, that he is the true and genuine Author of theſe Poems, tho' *Joſephus*, in his firſt Book againſt *Appion*, ſeems to be of the ſame Opinion with *Ælian*; and *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Lycurgus*, and *Cicero*, in his third Book *de Oratore*, give us ſome ground indeed, not to diſſent from them. But this is an Opinion that would ſo highly contribute to the abſolute Deſtruction of *Homer*'s Merit, that it were better to ſuffer *Ælian*, to lie under the Infamy of being a Collector of trivial and impertinent Stories. As for the other three, who countenance this Opinion, as they do not peremptorily affirm it, ſo we may without any prejudice to them, adhere to that which is more common, and be favourable to the Reputation of *Homer*, which as to this Point, is too firmly eſtabliſh'd to admit of any Conteſt.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Exordiums of the Poems of Homer *and* Virgil.

IT were to wiſh'd, in order to a fuller Satisfaction from an exact Compariſon of theſe two great Men, that there were a Parallel drawn between the Beginnings of the *Iliad* and of the *Odyſſey*, and between the Beginnings of the *Odyſſey* and of the *Æneid*, which are the firſt ſtrokes towards the Execution of thoſe excellent Poems. For tho' the Beginnings of great Works, according to *Cicero*'s Advice, ought to be Modeſt, and not too Exalted; and tho' *Horace* finds

Principia verecunda, nec elatis intenſa verbis. Orat.

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finds great fault with him, who begins with so much Pomp and Ostentation, with such an Air of Loftiness and Sublimity,

Fortunam Priami cantabo, &c.

Troys *Famous War, and* Priam's *Fate I sing.*
E. of Roscommon.

yet it were not amiss to Start fair, and begin well. The *Exordium* of the *Iliad*, as I find it translated by an unknown Author of Antient Date, runs thus,

Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε μοῦσα πολύτροπον

I Thee beseech, O Goddess mild,
The Hateful Hate to plain,
Whereby Achilles *was so wrong*
And grew in such Disdain;
That Thousands of the Greekish Dukes
In hard and heavy plight,
To Pluto's *Court did yield their Souls*
And Gaping, lay upright.
The senseless Trunks of Burial void,
By them erst gayly born
By ravening Curs, and carrion Fowls
In pieces to be torn.

He seems to take a pleasure in aggravating the Heroe's Anger, by its Causes and Effects; he drives on things with too furious, too violent, and in some manner, with too Hyperbolical an Expression for a Beginning: *That Anger*, says he, *that made such a bloody Slaughter amongst the Bodies of the Heroes*, for so one of his most exact Interpreters explains it. He does not consider that it is the Heroe, of whom he

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he ſpeaks, and whoſe Paſſion he aggravates, and that he labours for Words extraordinary, to expreſs the Diſtraction it made in the Army, of which this enrag'd Chief was General. He might have ſaid things more in general, in a Propoſition that ought to be Simple and Uncompounded, and there was no neceſſity of running it over again; he had ſaid enough in calling that Paſſion *Pernitious*. There is a certain Affectation in ſo often repeating it, and he takes a ſort of Pleaſure in amplifying, what he ought rather to have conceal'd, or at leaſt alleviated. He carries things ſtill farther, in ſaying, that *that implacable Wrath made the Bodies of thoſe Heroes a Prey to Dogs and Birds.* Nay, ſo mightily was he Poſſeſs'd with that Spirit of Exaggeration, ſo mightily was he given to aggravate, that it hurried him to that Extremity of Preſumption, that he dar'd to Impoſe upon the whole World; for amongſt the number of all thoſe Heroes, whom he ſays the Wrath of *Achilles* brought to Deſtruction, we cannot in Reaſon allow any but *Patroclus*, and ſome few others that were worthy of that Name. And I much queſtion, whether amongſt the many others, that periſh'd, there were any that deſerv'd it, or had the leaſt title to it. A Man ſhould never deſcend to that Particularity in a Propoſition intermix'd, without an Invocation: But what this Poet adds, compleats his Miſcarriage, and makes an enormous Contrariety.

Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή.

and of the will of Jupiter *it ſhould be ſo.* He forgets that he is ſpeaking to his Muſe, which is herſelf a Goddeſs, and that knows all things,

and

and ought not ever to have forgot any thing. He pretends to inform her, that it was the Will of *Jupiter*, that things should happen thus. It was the part of *Homer*'s Muse to acquaint him with the Secrets of the Divine Will, and what passes in the Order of its Decrees, and not *Homer*'s, to tell this to his Muse, that was the Daughter of *Mnemosyne* and *Jupiter*, that is, of the Understanding and Memory. It is yet much more strange, that he should add those Words, purely to amplify the Excess of that Destruction, which the Wrath of his enrag'd Heroe had wrought amongst the *Greeks*, since it had oblig'd even the Gods, to concern themselves in the Resentment of the Passion, and that it was their Will and Pleasure, it should prove so fatal to all the Persons of any considerable Character in that Army. And it is no less, than to carry on the dismal Effects of that Wrath, to the utmost Extremities, to authorize the Ruine of the *Grecian* Army, by the Will of the Gods; the Loss of which was only forsooth, the fulfillings of the good Pleasure of *Jupiter*, whereas his Character, on the contrary, entirely consists, in showing Kindness, and doing Acts of Mercy, for on these Benign Offices, is Founded his very Name, which is the same as *Juvans Pater*.

It would be a difficult Matter to fix, where this Invocation ends: The two following Verses are part of it, and it is confounded with the Narration, as we may observe upon a closer View. Besides, to confess the Truth, whatever Construction you put upon, or whatever Turn you give those Words, they will still seem somewhat affected. He seems to have a great desire to be very early upon his Morality, when he begins with it so soon as at the very

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very Entrance of a Work, which is not it self Moral, and that in the fourth Verse. The Reader's Mind, is not as yet prepar'd for Reflections. It ought to have been instructed, prediſpos'd, and a little inflam'd before-hand.

The *Exordium* of the *Odyſſey* is thus, nor do I know whether it appear more Rational than that of the *Æneid*.

Muſe, ſpeak the Man, who ſince the Siege of Troy,
So many Towns, ſuch change of Manners ſaw.
E. of Roſcommon.

An admirable Heroe, whoſe Eſſential Character is Subtlety and Craft. The Commentators interpret the Signification of this πολύτροπον ἄνδρα very much in favour of *Homer*, by taking all the Craft and Subtlety of the Heroe for Prudence and Wiſe Management. But, I do not ſee how we can allow of this Expoſition; this is indeed a Sweetning of the Expreſſion, but by no means to be admitted; beſides that throughout the whole Story, the Conduct of *Ulyſſes* bears no other Quality in particular than that of Craft, which is carried on by Impoſtures and Illuſions; Proceedings, very inconſiſtent with the Character of a Heroe: And *Minerva* herſelf, though ſtrongly engag'd in his Intereſt, cannot forbear Reproaching him on this Account.

And if it be pretended that this Craft is a Dexterity and Readineſs of Wit, why does he not make uſe of it for the Preſervation of his Campanions, but employs it all for his own private Security? *But they all periſh'd through their own Faults.* Ought not this Heroe, a Perſon of ſo much Wiſdom, and of ſuch extraordinary Prudence, to have been Maſter of that little

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little Conduct, as to ſecure them from that Misfortune? Nay, the Reaſon why they were deſtroy'd, is very ridiculous; *They were deſtroy'd, for having eaten the Oxen of the Sun.* This is certainly a far-fetch'd Deſtruction; the Heroe or the Poet was willing to be rid of them, and if *Ulyſſes* his Providence had not been great enough to have ſav'd the Companions of his Fortune, ought not the Poet at leaſt to have diſſembled it? What cou'd oblige him, I wonder, to begin with ſo diſhonourable an Enterprize, to advance the greateſt Weakneſs of his Heroe in the very Frontiſpiece of his Poem, to ſet his Miſcarriages in the beſt Light, and to implore his Muſe, *to Celebrate the Fame of that cunning Heroe who made a Shift to ſave himſelf, and ſuffer'd all thoſe that were with him to be deſtroy'd?* Is there any thing in the World, that leſs Anſwers the Character of a Heroe, than this; any thing, that betrays more Weakneſs, or is more Deſpicable? *Taſſo*, in the Beginning of his Poem, makes a good Advantage of this Fault, in order to perfect the Character of his Heroe, of whom he ſays:

——— *E ſotto I ſanti*
Segni riduſſe I ſuoi compagni erranti.

His Soldiers wild (to Brawles and Mutines Preſt)
Reduced he to Peace, ſo Heaven him Bleſt.
Fairfax.

The Beginning of the *Æneid* is leſs Compounded and more Natural, and its Propoſition not ſo Clog'd.

Arms and the Man I ſing, who forc'd by Fate
And Haughty Juno's unrelenting Hate;
Expell'd

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Expell'd and exil'd, left the Trojan *Shore,*
Long Labours both by Sea and Land he bore,
And in the doubtful War, before he won
The Latian *Realm, and built the deſtin'd Town:*
His baniſh'd Gods reſtor'd to Rites Divine,
And ſettled ſure Succeſſion in his Line;
From whence the Race of Alban *Fathers come,*
And the long Glories of Majeſtick Rome.
Mr. Dryden.

An Enemy of that Conſequence, renders him the more Conſiderable.

According to this Method of Compariſon, we may draw a Parallel of all the Reſt at leiſure.

CHAP. XVII.

The Concluſion of this Diſcourſe.

I Leave it to be decided by the Learned, what Judgment ought to be made of both theſe admirable Poets, when they ſhall have given themſelves the Trouble to be inform'd of the Truth of theſe Obſervations, and ſhall have particularly made but this one Reflection; *viz.* that all the *Grammarians* who are the true Criticks by Profeſſion, having not been able to endure the Luſtre of *Homer*'s Expreſſion, and the Magnificence of his Verſes, which without diſpute are more ſparkling than thoſe of *Virgil.* have been ſo dazzled with the Splendor, that without ſearching to the Ground of either Work, they have given the Preference to *Homer.* But they all judge as *Grammarians*, without conſidering the Obſervations I have made. *Plutarch*

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Plutarch himself, in a Discourse he has expressly writ upon *Homer*, expatiates much upon his great Learning, and the Universal Knowledge he had of all the Sciences; and has sufficiently denoted the vast Extent of that great Genius, by the Idea he has given us of his Character, without insisting on what is Essential to the Poem. So that all those Learned Men, that make their Reflections upon the Expression of *Homer*, and fix upon the Exterior part of his Works, are by no means good Judges. To Form a true Judgment of them, they must have a thorough Knowledge of all that is Essential, they must compute all the Proportions, consider whether the Beauties are regularly plac'd, whether the Intertexture of the Probable Part with the Miraculous be judiciously Contriv'd, whether the Licences, which Poesie admits of, are not too much indulg'd, whether all the Decencies as to Thoughts, Words and Actions are exactly observ'd, whether the Expressions are Lively and Passionate, whether every thing keeps its proper Rank and Order, and preserves its true Character, whether good sound Sense and solid Reason influences the Whole, and whether things are all as they ought to be according to that Grand Precept of *Quintilian*. *Nihil potest placere quod non decet.* In a Word, they are to give their Opinion of these great Works as they wou'd do of a Palace or any stately Edifice, whose chief Beauties consists in the Proportion there is between the Design in general and its several Parts, and their mutual Correspondence with one another. This is the Method Men of Skill observe, in taking a View of such Noble Structures, without fixing their Minds upon the Exterior Ornaments, which serve only to amuse

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amuſe and employ the Thoughts of the Ignorant and Unlearn'd.

There is nothing that is to me, I muſt confeſs, a greater Argument of *Homer's* Merit, than the conſtant Endeavours of *Virgil* to imitate him in all things; he ſeems perfectly to Adore him, by the great Eſteem and Value he had for him. And all the World knows, that a certain Critick that liv'd in the time of *Ptolemey*, nam'd *Zoilus*, render'd his Name infamous amongſt the Learned, by pretending to Criticiſe upon *Homer*, and has ever ſince been look'd upon as a very Contemptible Author, by Men of Letters.

To conclude this Compariſon, there is, among the *Catalects* of the Ancient Poets, the Fragment of an Epigram, by an uncertain Author, which may aſſiſt us in forming our Judgment, as we ought to do of the Poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*: By this Fragment, we ſhall find that the former is more Ample, more Extenſive and more Sublime, the latter more Regular and more Accompliſh'd. In this Epigram, *Virgil* himſelf ſpeaks, but with all the Modeſty that can be.

Mæonium quiſquis Romanus noſcit Homerum
Me legat, & lectum credat utrumque ſibi.
Illius immenſos miratur Græcia campos,
At minor eſt nobis, ſed bene cultus Ager.

Whoe're in Rome *n'er heard of* Homer's *Strain*
In me may find the true Mæonian *Vein.*
All Greece *admires his large extended Fields,*
Ours is in Compaſs leſs, but not leſs Treaſure yields.

Leſſer Works are indeed ever more Compleat and Finiſh'd Pieces than great ones, becauſe the Artiſt may beſtow more time and leiſure in Poliſhing them.

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But, in fine, not to be tedious in insisting any longer on Particulars, which wou'd render this Discourse very disagreeable; and which were we to do, we must borrow our Matter from *Eustathius* and *Servius* the most Celebrated, and most Exact Commentators upon these two great Men. I am persuaded, that without giving a final Decision, a thing I have always avoided; I may be allow'd, according to the Observations I have made, to determine how things shall be divided in this Case, which I presume may be thus. *Homer*, has more Spirit and *Virgil*, more Judgment; and shou'd I chuse to have been *Homer*, rather than *Virgil*; I shou'd at the same time, much rather wish to have writ the *Æneid*, than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

In this, I have the Approbation of *Propertius*, as appears from what he has said in Favour of *Virgil*, after the most disinterested Manner. For though his Reputation were more firmly establish'd than that of *Virgil*, and though the Jealousie of the Mind, which is the true Self-love, be incomparably greater and more prevalent, than that of the Heart; yet, he does not in the least Scruple to take off the Crown from his own Head, to place it upon *Virgil's*, and to acknowledge, that all ought to give him place, nay, even *Homer* himself.

Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii,
Nescio quid majus nascitur Æneide,

The Greek *and* Roman *Writers yield, or tell*
What mighty Work the Æneid *can excell.*

TO

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TO

WILLIAM INGE

OF

THORP

IN

STAFFORD-SHIRE, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

WHAT I here Offer You, I chuse to Pay as an Instance of my Gratitude; and as Part of the Debt I owe to the Honour of your long-continued Friendship and Acquaintance; notwithstanding you might reasonably Demand it on your own Personal Account and Merit; as being able to pass Sentence both on the Author and Translator, and to determine whether the Criticisms are well grounded, or the Translation just and proper. For you have not fail'd to Improve the Talent Nature has given you, by the Advantages of Study and Education; having a Mind Inquisitive and Curious, Penetrating, Solid and Retentive; averse to Sloth, and always Busie and Industrious: So that you brought to the University, a greater Stock of Sense, than many Gentlemen carry from it; and Built successfully, upon the Grammar-Foundation so well laid be your Excellent Master, a Superstru-

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Eare of sound, rather than superficial Acquisitions. It was your distinguishing Prudence, forthwith to make Choice of the best Company, as well as Books, thereby seasoning your Mind with a true sense of Learning and good Manners; which thing alone, were there no other Engagements on you, had made you a Friend to the University and the Church, and a worthy Member of both; whilst others, bringing nothing but Ignorance and their hereditary Vices hither, and Conversing with none, but those of the like Stamp and Character, make the Debauchery of the College the chief Topick of their Discourse when they have left it: Those being ever most forward to Revile the Universities, when from them, who in them were their greatest Scandal and Reproach. And now, Sir, *though a plentiful Estate calls off some part of your Thoughts and Time from your Study, yet the choicest of both are still employ'd upon your own Improvement; since you think it no less becoming a Gentleman to inlarge his Mind, than his Fortune, and to have his Head, than his House, richly Furnisht: Upon which Account I shall not pretend by the Present I here make you, to Inform you so much as Divert you, whenever you shall please to allow some of your leisure-minutes, in comparing the Copy with the Original. But if this* Comparison *of the Two best Historians, and* Reflections upon History, *shall either Provoke you to take Pen in Hand, or assist you hereafter in projecting a Piece of that Nature, I shall Merit more of the Publick, than will at first View be discover'd: However it may happen, I shall not fail of my Design, which was my own Satisfaction, in making, tho' a Poor, yet Real Acknowledgment of the frequent Favours you have conferred on,*

SIR, Your most Obedient Humble Servant,

Magd. Coll. Oxon.
Apr. 12. 1694.

T. Taylor.

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THE

PREFACE.

I Muſt beg leave to Acquaint the Reader, in two or three Words, with the Reaſon that induc'd me to enter on the Tranſlation of *Rapin*, which probably might ſeem Unneceſſary, ſince it had been formerly done, and was in the Hands of moſt People. But underſtanding it was Performed by ſeveral Perſons, at ſeveral Times, and ſome of it careleſly enough, and, that which was better, out of Print; and being inform'd ſome parts of it had not hitherto been Tranſlated, and deſir'd to go over with it again, and make it all of a Piece, and of more general Uſe, I thought my Pains would not be very ill Imploy'd, if I Collected the ſcatter'd Parts of ſo excellent a Book, and reduc'd them into a Body: Eſpecially ſince I might Advantage my ſelf by the Failings and Miſtakes of Others, and poſſibly, by imitating what was Good, and avoiding what was Bad in them, make a tolerable Tranſlation. I began with the Author's Treatiſes upon Hiſtory, in his *Compariſon* and *Reflections*, upon the Bookſellers Information they had not been Attempted before. And becauſe nothing was more ſeaſonable than a Compariſon of *Thucydides* and *Livy*, at a time when the former was Printing in an excellent Edition at the *Theatre*; nothing being more

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neceſſary to the thorough underſtanding any Author, than the Reading, together with him, the beſt Cenſures and Criticks that have been Wrote upon him. But it was a kind of Surprize to me, when I had finiſh'd the *Reflections*, to find they had been ventur'd on before, by one *Davis de Rhuvelli*; apprehending it would coſt me a freſh Trouble, where I fell in with his Expreſſion, to Change my own: But finding the Copy he went by to be the Original rough-caſt and incomplete, before the Author had put his laſt hand to it; and that we ſeldom agreed in the way of expreſſing the ſame thing, I let Mine paſs without any Alteration. I have been told too, by a Gentleman, he thought he had ſeen the other Part done; but not being able to get a Sight of it, I leave the *Compariſon* to take its Chance: If it meets with a kind Reception, the reſt ſhall ſpeedily be Publiſh'd; if not, I am not ſo great an Enemy to the Bookſeller and my ſelf, as to throw my Pains, and his Mony away to no Purpoſe. I have only this to add, That I would not be thought, becauſe I have Tranſlated the whole, to Believe it all: There are ſome few Reflections that ſmell too ſtrong of the *Jeſuite*; who, in Favour of his Church, falls into Partiality, whilſt he is Declaring againſt it; but the Inſtances ſerve his Purpoſe, as well as if they were true; and 'tis a Fault which muſt be Pardon'd him, ſince it cannot be avoided, be the Man never ſo Learn'd, without abandoning his Religion.

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The AUTHOR's Preface.

MY Design in Comparing these Two Authors, is only to make their Value better known; since I take them to be the most Proper of all others, to form a Man's Sense and Reason, in an Age, where both are better Cultivated and Improv'd, than in any other. Wherein, this may be said to the Commendation of our own Times, That we understand the Character of Ancient Author's better, and are more intimately Acquainted with their Mind and Meaning than our Predecessors.

The Difference between them and us is this, That greater Pretensions were made to Learning in their Age, than ours. This was formerly so much in Fashion, that Elizabeth, Queen of England, Translated several of Sophocles's Tragedies; and Mary Stuart the Queen Dauphine, recited at the Louvre, in the great Guard-Hall, before the whole Court, a Latine Oration of her Own making; and the Chancellor of the Hospital, in the Reign of Charles the Ninth, was as well skill'd in Languages as a Professor of the College-Royal. 'Twas the Genius of those Times, in which nothing was so much in Vogue, as a great Capacity and profound Reading: The Tongues were thoroughly Studied, and Men betook themselves to reform the Text of Ancient Authors, by far fetch'd Interpretations; to subtilize upon an Equivocal Term, and to found a Conjecture for the establishing a Correction. In short, they scrupulously adher'd to the Literal Sense, because they were not able to reach the Spirit of the Author, and his Meaning; which now adays is done, Men being become more Rational, and less

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Learn'd; and greater account is made of good Sense, in the greatest Simplicity, than of an awkward and perverse Capacity of Mind.

Hereby it is we are arriv'd to a greater Intimacy with the Sentiments of the Ancients, and a more thorough Knowledge of their Writings: Which is so true, that all Men, never so little Impartial, must agree to it; and I may say without Vanity, I give a better Idea of the Spirit of Livy, *for Instance, in this little Piece I have drawn, than* Gronovius *has done in his last Edition, Printed at* Amsterdam *in the Year* 1665; *which contains a long, and exact History of the Manuscripts of the Historian, of the Editions put forth from time to time, and of a Catalogue of those Men who have endeavour'd, by their Notes or Corrections, by their Reflections or Criticisms, to re-establish or augment them. There is not to be found, in all the Assistances he affords us, for the understanding of this Historian, nor in all his other Commentators, so exact a Knowledge of his Character, as that which I give in this Volume, as little as it is. At least, I shall not spoil the fine Relish the World begins to have of good Sense, upon Reason's displaying it self to the Learn'd, in all the Extent of Solidity and Delicacy: Which is so thoroughly settled in the Minds of Men at this day, that in all the Works, recommended to us by the Merit of their Antiquity, the Preference is without Scruple given to a Man of good Sense, and little Learning, before a Man of Learning of an injudicious Character.*

I am fearful however of Discouraging those who have no Genius for Writing, by desiring to Encourage those that have. For whatever Rules may be given for History, none can be prescrib'd more severe than those Thucydides *and* Livy *have observed. After all, That which I shall say may be Serviceable to many Things; being design'd to destroy the Re-*

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Remainder of that Love of false Lustre, which still obtains, even in this Age, amongst Men whose Taste is not throughly purg'd and purify'd; to enlighten those who pretend to write with a Ray of sober Reason, which makes the Solid Character; to stop that current of Repute, which some sort of Men still attribute to Flash and Words; to shew that 'tis from Things rather than Words, the Nobleness of Expression should be sought; to avoid that empty greatness of Discourse, as contrary to the real Dignity of Expression, as a too naked Simplicity; and to write in a sensible manner, by the right use of a correct and sober Reason, which is no where better learn'd, than from the Acquaintance with these Two Authors; for I know very few that are more proper to make a Man Rational, that reads them, if he reads them well: And though I should only say, that all the Majesty of the Roman *Commonwealth still reigns in* Livy, *after it has been more than* 1500 *Years destroy'd; and all the Purity of Reason of the Ancient* Greeks *appears the same still in* Thucydides, *as it was* 2000 *Years ago; yet this would be enough, one would think, to excite the Curiosity of a Generous Soul to know the Bottom of them, according to their Merits. For, in short, there probably never appear'd in any Work, more solid Reasons, accompanied with all the Force and Dignity of Discourse; no good Sense deliver'd with a more exquisite Judgment, than in these Two Authors.*

THE

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THE COMPARISON OF *Thucydides* and *Livy*.

CHAP. I.

The Design of the Work, and the Difficulties of the Undertaking.

BESIDES that vast Difficulty there is to establish standing Rules, whereby to judge of the Beauty of such Works as these which I am going to compare: There are many whose Opinion will be contrary to mine in the very Choice I have made of these Two Historians, as the most Accomplish'd in both Languages; because Men are different in their Judgments, and humourſome in their Tastes of things; as 'twill be hard to convince them that a just Comparison can be made betwixt Two Authors, whose Works have nothing of Relation or Proportion to each other. For that of *Livy* is an Universal History, of a People who had the Sovereignty of the World, that takes in a space

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a space of more than Seven Hundred Years, and that of *Thucydides* is only a Fragment of a History, relating to a particular Nation, and of a War that lasted not Thirty Years in all? Such are the Difficulties that immediately offer themselves in the Execution of my propos'd Design; and it is troublesome to engage in't, before this Point be clear'd.

For the first, we need only understand what is the End of History, to be able to judge with some kind of Certainty and Distinction, of the Excellency of a Work of that nature. And for the second Difficulty which respects the Choice I have made of these two Authors, nothing can better justify it, than what I shall say in Commendation of them both. For not to tye my self to the Testimonies of the Learned who have given their Judgment of them before me; upon which I might build my own; not to mention *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, the most judicious Critick of them all; who calls *Thucydides* the most perfect of the *Greek Historians*, assuring us, that the Ingenious of his time took him for the true Pattern of writing History: Not to call in the Evidence of *Quintilian* in Favour of *Livy*, whom he prefers before all *Latin Historians*; nor to allege the Admiration they have both been held in, by all Ages; where sound Sense hath had any sway or Dominion; nothing can possibly afford us a better View of the Ascendant these *two Historians* have above all others, than the Parallel which may be drawn betwixt them, to convince those that are doubtful in the matter. For the only *Greeks* that can pretend to Competition with *Thucydides*, are in my Opinion *Herodotus*, *Xenophon* and *Polybius*: The rest deserve not enter the Lists with

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with him, as rising not to that Grandeur and Dignity which History requires.

Herodotus indeed took a greater flight; his Design including all that was nobly transacted in *Europe* and *Asia*, by the *Greeks* and *Barbarians* for the space of two Hundred Years, was more fortunate than that of *Thucydides*; but the Performance is no way answerable to the Grandeur of the Subject. The too great Ambition that *Author* had to please, made him so careless of Truth, that *Plutarch* concludes his Falshoods alone would make a Volume; and his Integrity has been extremely run down, by all that have examin'd it. He was of a Temper too agreeable to have a Character that was solid, laborious, and fit for the Discovery of Truth. He's of a superficial Genius, that lays not stress enough on things, to carry our Mind to the bottom of them. As to *Xenophon*, he is admirable for the Sweetness of his Stile; but is too smooth, and too much upon the Level; he hardly makes a step out of that *middle Way*, which yet carries in it something noble and natural. *Polybius* is a kind of *Philosopher* of a penetrating Spirit, who lays out himself in Reasonings, and generally divests himself of the Character of *Historian*, to put on the *Politician*; the rest of the *Greeks* have nothing in them comparable to *Thucydides*.

There is still less Difficulty in respect of *Livy* among the *Latines*, the most accomplish'd of whose *Historians* come not near him. *Sallust* has scarce any thing that is finish'd: What we have remaining of his History, is insufficient to give us a just Notion of his Merit. There remains indeed enough to give us a good Opinion of him; but too little to found a Com-

parison

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parison out with *Livy*. *Cesar* (that in the most familiar way of expressing himself has retain'd that Dignity which became him, and writing in the lowest kind of *middle Style*, wants nothing of the Fineness of the most *exact*) is no *Historian*. *Paterculus*'s Piece, howbeit of a noble and delicate Taste, has too little *Body*, because it has too much *Soul*. *Tacitus* has an admirable *Genius*, but he generally out-shoots the *Sublime*; He is noble enough in his Thoughts, but is not Natural in what he thinks. 'Tis true he has abundance of Wit, but such sort of Wit that cannot speak of *plain* things in a *plain* Manner: For he is still politick and artificial in every thing he says. His work is not so much an *History* as *Reflections* on *History*: He busied himself in making Reflections, being forestall'd by others, who left nothing new for him to say, which determin'd him to that way he took, wherein he succeeded, and made himself considerable. *Quintus Curtius* has handled a Noble Theme with too florid and gay an Air, in terms too exquisite and far fetcht, and too studied Figures. In some places he sports a little with his Subject, forgetting the Importance was such as requir'd more Gravity. *Livy* alone has *fill'd* up all the *Parts* of a Compleat *Historian*. The Greatness of his *Subject* is answerable to his *Style*: he has match'd the *Grandeur* of a People, whose History he writes, with as noble a *Genius*: That *Matter* could not be treated, as became its Greatness, but in that *manner* he has done it; who has been Master of all the Beauties of Composition in such height of Perfection, as no Man else has ever been so happy as to arrive to.

So

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So then, all things well consider'd, *Thucydides* has not only stood *unparallel'd* among those *Greek Historians*, which have been handed down to us, and *Livy* been *unrival'd* amongst the *Latines*; but both the one and the other have arriv'd to such a *pitch* of Excellency as has appear'd in no *Historians* even since. And all succeeding Ages have, as it were, fall'n prostrate at their Feet, acknowledging them to be *Genius's* of the highest Order, destin'd to be Rules and Models to all others. Which will be made out, in that which follows, so as to be unexceptionable to all those who will have a little Patience and Attention.

For the third Difficulty I own it impossible to make a just Comparison of *two Authors*, and their History who have no relation to each other. But in respect of their *Wit* and of their *Temper*, of their *ways* and *manner* of Writing, and all that belongs to Composition, they may be compar'd: 'tis only herein they can be made the Subject of a *Comparison*, and it is in this only that I *compare* them: But let us consider their *Persons* before we enter upon their Works.

CHAP. II.

A Comparison of their Persons.

THO' *Impartiality*, *Fidelity*, *Honesty*, and other *moral* Virtues, are not always necessary Qualifications of an *Author* in general: We may say notwithstanding they are extreamly requisite to an *Historian*, whose Sentiments should

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should ever be honeſt and well-meaning. 'Tis neceſſary his Zeal for *Truth* be as Sacred to him as his *Religion*; that *Integrity* be his indiſpenſable Rule; that *Honour*, *Love of Equity*, and a *diſintereſted Meaning* ſhine in every thing he writes, and every thing he thinks. So that although it requires a prodigious ſtock of Parts to write *Hiſtory* well; yet an *Hiſtorian*, that is in ſearch of Glory, and thinks to make himſelf Immortal, ſhould be more ſolicitous to avoid the Imperfections of *Will* than Underſtanding; the one being more Eſſential than the other. For 'tis not ſo much the Parts and great Capacity, as the Faithfulneſs of an Author which is regarded, when Men deſire to be inſtructed how things have been managed and tranſacted in former times; ſince the beſt wrote Hiſtory, take away the Credit of it, is no better than a Fable. But an Hiſtorian cannot himſelf be Faithful, unleſs he is an honeſt Man, diſengaged of Prejudice, Intereſt and Paſſion. And theſe Qualifications require a Niceneſs of Conſcience, a Greatneſs of Soul, and a Courage above the common Rate. Which probably gave occaſion to that *Roman* to admire how it came into the head of one of *Pompey's Freed-men*, named *Otacilius*, to undertake, the firſt of his Rank, to write an *Hiſtory*; becauſe to carry on ſuch an Attempt ſucceſsfully there is requir'd a ſort of *Liberty* inconſiſtent with any thing *ſlaviſh* or cringing. A *diſhoneſt* Man whoſe Soul is not of a make capable to diſtinguiſh *falſe* Glory from *true*, and who can be ſenſibly affected with other *Intereſts* than thoſe of *Truth* and *Reaſon*, is the unfitteſt in the World to write an *Hiſtory*. He will never be admitted into the *belief* of Mankind, who firſt gains not their good *Opinion* of his *Probity*. So that

Primus omnium libertinorum ſcribere Hiſtoriam, orſus non niſi ab honeſtiſſimo quoq; ſcribi ſolitam. Corn. Nep. *in Fragmentis.*

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that *Sincerity* stands him instead of all things, if he would be well receiv'd; and if *Wit* should sometimes chance to fail him, yet Principles of *Honour* and *Honesty* should never be deficient. This then is the first *Foundation* for an *Historian*, as to his own concern. And these are the Principles on which I intend to examine these *two Authors*, in what respects their *Persons*, in order to compare them.

The Person of Thucydides.

We know nothing of certainty concerning the *Person* of *Thucydides* but what he himself has deliver'd in his *History*, that he was a Citizen of *Athens*, and General of the Army in *Thrace*, where he Married; that his Possessions were very great there, and that he purchas'd much esteem by the Largeness of his Expences. For the rest Antiquity is almost silent in the Matter. There is no question to be made but that he was of an honourable Extraction, which, *Marcellinus*, who has left us a Fragment of the Life of this Great Man, deduces from the Kings of *Thrace* pretending that his Grandfather married a Daughter of that Family, whence his Father took the Name *Olorus*, and that he reckon'd amongst his Ancestors *Miltiades* and *Cimon*, those two celebrated Generals of the *Athenians*. *Suidas* and *Photius* relate that *Thucydides*, when a Youth, hearing *Herodotus* read his *History*, at the Solemnity of the *Olympick* Games, fell a Crying, through a gallant Jealousie, and a sense of Emulation. Which gave occasion to *Herodotus* to Complement the *Father* of the *young Gentleman*, as giving an infallible earnest of his future Glory: In short he was an *honest* Man; the Severity of his *Morals* and his *Piety* are to be seen in several places of his Works, where he ever talks like a Man of excellent Principles, never advancing of his own Head any Maxim of

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of dangerous consequence. And his Discourse carries always in it a Masculine air of Vertue. Take for an Instance what he says of a famous Commander, that was put to Death by the *Syracusians* after his Defeat. *Thus fell* Nicias, *who of all his Cotemporaries least deserv'd to dye in such a Manner*, as *having always been a zealous Worshiper of the Gods.* And by the Character of his Integrity, which appears in all his Writings he discovers the true bottom of his Heart, and the Purity of his Manners, which is the Quality *Aristotle* chiefly requires in a Discourse: When he says it can never be agreeable to the Subject, when 'tis insufficient to give you the *Manners* of the Speaker: And a Discourse is nothing worth where the *Manners* of the Man are naught; for 'tis a Rule that one should be conformable to the other. Which is the particular Character of this *Author*, who never fails to create a good Opinion of himself in the Minds of those that read him.

Libro 7 de Bello. Pelop.

Rhet. l. 3. c. 7.

Anaxagoras was his Master in *Philosophy*, and *Antiphon* in *Rhetorick*, by both which his Mind was Form'd in that solid and sensible Manner to those Studies which lay the main Foundation of his Character. But as excellent as he was at these Sciences, he however knew the *World* better than *Books*. The Acquaintance he had with *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Critias*, *Alcibiades*, *Pericles*, and all the Great Men of that Age, which was the Politest, and of the finest Taste that has ever been among the *Greeks*, gave the finishing stroke, so as to fit his Mind with those noble Idea's and Principles, which make an absolute *Gentleman*, and an accomplish'd *Historian*: For besides that no Man ever wrote in a more *brave* and disinterested Manner, without the least reserve to his Resentment: He has

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moreover said nothing, but with all imaginable Candor. He was so utter an Enemy to all manner of *disguise*, that he could not away with any thing that should, I dont say wound, but give the least Offence to Truth, never advanceing any Maxim that look'd not towards the *Good* of the *Publick*, the Love of which was engraven in his Heart. He was so tender and scrupulous of *Honour*, that he has not fail'd in his *History* to treat the *Athenians* well, even those at whose Hands he had receiv'd the greatest Indignities: Concealing nothing which might be to the Advantage of *Cleon* and *Brasidas* the principal Authors of his Banishment.

For it was principally through the Intrigue of *Cleon* his Rival, that he was Banish'd his Country, for not having succour'd *Amphipolis*, whither he was commanded: And it was during his Exile that he wrote his *History*, finding more leisure, and better instructions in the Enemies Affairs, amongst whom he liv'd, as he declares in his Fifth Book; in which he speaks of his Banishment, and his Retirement among the *Lacedemonians*, by whose means he got acquainted with the Mystery of Affairs, which he had no possibility of knowing any other way. His Lady that he Married bringing him a vast Fortune, he made use of it to collect his *Memoirs*; and he disburst considerable Sums to the *Lacedemonian* Commanders, to be instructed in the Truth of those things which his own *Party*, for their *own Interest*, had disguis'd. The Passion he had for Study, and the Pleasure he took in it, made his ill Fortune sit easier upon him, by giving him Resolution: 'Tis not known that he ever attempted his Restoration; the Honours that were due to him seem'd *odious*, since he thought it a *shame* to ask them; and

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and having through Modesty never been forward, before his Exile, to make his way up to the Helm, he thought himself now utterly incapable of doing it, being suspected by the *Citizens*. He retreated to *Egina* a small Island of *Peloponnesus*, where he began to work upon his History: His Exile lasted twenty Years, and he Died before he had finish'd it. 'Tis his great Glory to have said nothing against his *Conscience*, as *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* assures us in his own words, and that was one of his more special Qualities. *Cicero* gives him almost the same Encomium: And 'tis the Testimony the *Learn'd* of all *Antiquity* have given of him, who have extoll'd his Sincerity above his other Vertues. He had the Fortune to serve his Country both with his *Sword* and *Pen*; being engag'd in most of the Expeditions he *Describes*. And having, through the Employs the *Republick* had intrusted him with, obtain'd an entire Knowledge of the Affairs of his own Country, as well as the Interests of the *Lacedemonian* Common-wealth, for the Particulars of which he was wholly oblig'd to his Exile: This gave him opportunity of preparing himself for his Undertaking with a Diligence which scarce had its Precedent. And it may be said, never *Historian* took *Pen* in hand better furnish'd with Instructions, which he collected out of the different Interests of the two Nations, whose History he undertook. It may be farther added, that never Author had a greater Passion for Vertue, or a greater Aversion to Injustice than *Thucydides*. He Died in *Thrace* in the fiftieth Year of his Age, before his Work was finish'd. *Xenophon*, who Compleated it, adjoin'd the War of *Sicily*, and the other Wars of *Greece*, to enlarge his History. This is all

Dion. Halic. in Jud. de Thucyd. Num. 9. *Thucydides rerum gestarum pronunciator sincerus.*

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we have been able to gather concerning the Person of *Thucydides*; for his Historian *Marcellinus* has rather given us the History of his *Mind*, than of his *Life*.

The Person of Livy. We are still more in the dark as to the Particulars of *Livy*'s Life, than that of *Thucydides*: For whether he had a greater Unconcernedness for Publick Business, and his own Promotion; or had more of the *Philosopher* than *Thucydides*: Whether he was of a more Studious Constitution, and was destin'd to live retir'd in Silence and Obscurity; certain it is we know very little of his Origin, his Employments, his Adventures, or the Condition of his Fortune in general. Only thus much, that he was of *Padua*, contrary to *Sigonius*'s his Opinion, who would have him Born in a Village near that Town, call'd *Aponæ*, producing for this the pretended Testimony of *Martial*, in one of his Epigrams. 'Tis plain too he was of an Honourable Family, since it had the Honour of sending out *Consuls* of the *Roman* Commonwealth. That he liv'd under the Empire of *Augustus*; that he Dedicated some Dialogues to him, upon the *Questions debated in those Times*, relating to *Philosophy*; whereby he got into that Emperour's Acquaintance, and good Opinion; that he after wrote a Treatise of *Eloquence* to his Son, which *Quintilian* made great account of; that he began his *History* at *Rome*, for the convenience of such Memorials as were necessary, which were Recorded in the *Annals* in the *Capitol*; and for the better distinguishing Truth from Fabulous Traditions, wherewith the *Originals* of the City of *Rome* abounded; that he retired some time after to *Naples*, to avoid Disturbance in his Study; that he recited to *Augustus* and

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and *Mecenas* some parts of his *History*, wherewith they were sensibly affected; that *Augustus*, upon the Esteem he conceived of him, made choice of him for a *Tutor* to form the Mind of his young Son * *Claudius*, who afterwards was Emperour. † *Pliny Junior* says, the Reputation of this Great Man began already to make such a Noise in the World, that a *Stranger* came to *Rome* from the farthest part of *Spain*, purposely to see *Livy*, whose Renown had spread itself far and near in his own Country.

* Sueton. in Claud. cap. 42.

† *Gaditanum quendam Titi Livii nomini gloriaque commotum, ad visendum eum ab ultimo terrarum orbe venisse, statimque ut viderat abiisse.* Plin. l. 2. Epist. l. 3.

After the death of *Augustus* he return'd to *Padua*, where the Citizens received him with extraordinary Honours. He dy'd in the fourth Year of the Reign of *Tiberius*. His abode at *Rome*, and the Favour of *Augustus*, gave him opportunity of furnishing himself with Knowledge necessary to his Design. The Zeal for his Undertaking, which was great and extraordinary, so fix'd him to his Closet, and gave him so little Disquiet for the Concernments of his Fortune, that his Life thereby became a little obscure; being he was oblig'd to sequester himself from a more publick Conversation, and live private, that he might give himself wholly up to that grand Work he had in hand. He must needs have had a Soul prodigiously great, to form the Project of so vast and laborious an Enterprize. For in short, whatever *Genius* a Man has, 'tis only a Greatness of Spirit can produce those exalted and generous Sentiments that make the Beauty and Excellency of a Noble Work.

Livy was also One of the Worthiest Men of all *Antiquity*. We need not only read him,

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to think well of him, his Manner of Writing ever giving us a great *Idea* of his *Probity*. You would conclude from his *Air* of Speaking, that he knew not what *Vanity* was. He has not only never spoken of *himself*, nor any thing that belongs to him, in his *History*; but likewise we had been ignorant in what Times he Wrote, had it not been for a Word that by chance escap'd him, concerning the *Temple* of *Janus*, which was now shut, says † he, by *Augustus*, having been so but once before, since the Reign of *Numa*. He began his *History* in a *strain* of *Modesty*, which seems so Admirable to me, that I cannot believe a discreeter *Author* ever appeared in the World. See what the Scope of that *History* which has been the most absolute Master-piece of *Antiquity*, and the Admiration of all Ages. * *I am uncertain whether the History I write of the Actions of the* Roman *People, since the Foundation of* Rome, *will be a Work worth any consideration; and tho' I were persuaded of it, I durst not say it; for it is a matter*, &c. The rest of that *Exordium*, which I offer not to copy, since 'tis in the hands of all Men, is answerable to the Beginning, and is sufficient to shew the Spirit of the Author. Never Man *promis'd* so little in Beginning a Work that *perform'd* so much. He comes not without *trembling* to the opening his Design, diffident of his own Strength in sustaining so great an Enterprize. But 'tis only in order to give us *more*, that he suffers us to hope so *little*; he is not *timorous*, but because he is *wise*, and ordinarily a Man who is no farther *Modest*, than he is *Judicious*. And this Character of *Modesty* is the finest amongst all the Qualities of an *Author*, that is Meditating some great thing; *quippe qui*, &c. *Proem. Hist* Tit. Livii.

† *Janus post Numæ regnum clausus semel T. Manlio Consule, iterum quod nostræ ætati dii dederint, ut videremus post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Cæsare Augusto pace terra marique parta*, &c. Hist. Rom. l. 1.

* *Facturusne operæ pretium sim, si à primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripserim, nec satis scio, nec si sciam, dicere ausim*;

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nothing creates a greater Notion of his Judgment, than his Diſtruſt. It is a Proof of his Capacity, that he is ſenſible of the Weightineſs of his Subject, and 'tis the greateſt Teſtimony can be given of the Honeſty of an *Hiſtorian*. For what a Fund of Diſcretion and Good Manners muſt he needs have than can ſtifle all Pride, ſo natural to Mankind, and do himſelf Juſtice without Flattery. See wherein *Livy* is worthy of Admiration ſo ſoon as he opens his Lips. But after he has given us ſo mean an Opinion of himſelf by the ſmall Regard he makes of his own Performances, he lets us into a multitude of *Lights*, he diſcovers a *profoundneſs* of Mind, an *extent* of Genius, a *fruitfulneſs* of Imagination; in fine, a Thouſand Beauties, and infinite Treaſures, which we attend not to, when we only reckon upon what he promis'd us.

For his *Sincerity*, it Underwent the ſevereſt Trial that poſſibly could be, without being Corrupted. The Reputation he was in with *Auguſtus*, and that Favour to which he had advanc'd him, were not Motives ſufficient to hinder his ſpeaking Honourably, not only of *Pompey*, but alſo of *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, the greateſt Enemies of that *Emperour*; honouring the Memory of the *Conquer'd* in the Face, as one may ſay, of the *Conquerour*; and Recommending to the World, as Honeſt Men, the Murtherers of *Cæſar*, in the Preſence of *Auguſtus*; becauſe they were Lovers of their own Country. 'Tis this which *Cremutius Cordus* thought impoſſible to be ſufficiently Praiſed in *Titus Livius*, as we are aſſur'd by *Tacitus*. *Corn. Tacit. de Cremutio Cordo. l. 4. Annal.*

Such was *Livy* for his *Moral* Accompliſhments, and what reſpects his *Perſon*: And it ſeems that ſomething had been wanting to the *glory*,

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or rather the *good Fortune* of a People that was Master of the World, had they *fail'd* of so great a Man for their *Historian*. 'Tis that which has doubtless occasion'd that Famous *Inscription* found at *Padua* in the Year one thousand four hundred and thirteen, in the Church of St. *Justina*. *Ossa Titi Livii Patavini omnium mortalium judicio digni, cujus prope invicto calamo, invicti populi Romani res gestæ conscriberentur.*

Thus then we see two truly *Vertuous Historians*: But to conclude this Head, the Vertue of *Thucydides* seems more Admirable than that of *Livy*. The former has afforded a kind Treatment even to his *Enemies*, who could not make him abate the least of his Integrity: And the Vertue of the latter Soar'd not quite so high, since it went no farther, than causing him to speak well of the *Enemies* of *Augustus* his *Protector*. This is what may be Collected of the Persons and Morals of both *Historians*: Let us now examine their Intellectual Vertues, which we cannot know better than by a Comparison of their *Characters*.

CHAP. III.

The Comparison of their Characters.

AS the *Lines* of a Face are expos'd to view, so 'tis no hard matter to discover them; but the *Lineaments* of a Mind from whence proceed the differences of a *Style*, and *Character*, are so Obscure and Imperceptible, that without a very singular *insight*, nothing of them can be known. Take however what Ancient Authors have

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have left us of *Thucydides*, who were best able to know his Character.

He has a Mind so Solid, and well Founded, that he speaks nothing but what is well thought, and correct; nothing but what has all the Nerves and Strength, his Subject is capable of receiving. And whereas he always arrives at the truest Sense, and purest Reason, troubling not his Head about the Ornaments of Discourse, his way is usually somewhat dry, yet strong and lively, because he is concise and close in his Expression. 'Twas from that great strength of Parts that he Studied to include so *much* Sense in so *few* Words, and *talking less* than others, that he often *said* a great deal *more*. Take *Cicero*'s Opinion of him in these words. *Thucydides in Dignity of Style, and the Art of Eloquence, in my Opinion, goes far beyond all that have Wrote: He abounds so with Matter, that his Thoughts are almost equal in number to his Words, and he is so expressive and close in what he says, that 'tis hard to say whether his Words set off the* things, *or the things his* Words, *the most*. This is what makes him so very Sententious in respect of other Historians; and is the Cause that his Sense, straitned and confin'd in so few Words, becomes something *Obscure*, because it wants that *Liberty* and Compass requir'd to make it Natural and Easie.

The Character of Thucydides.

Thucydides omnes dicendi artificio mea sententia facile vincit, qui ita creber est rerum frequentia ut verborum prope numerum sententiarum numero consequatur. Ita porro verbis aptus & pressus ut nescias utrum res oratione an verba sententiis illustrentur. Cic. lib. 3. de Orat.

His Style is Exalted, Noble and Sublime, which is the Reason of his using so frequent and so *bold* Metaphors, in pure *Political* Terms, yet better *manag'd* than those of *Plato*: And hence he arriv'd to that grandeur of Expression which reigns so strongly in his Writings: In which he is ever *great*, without being *extravagant* in his Thoughts; always Natural, yet falls not into any thing *Vulgar* or *Common*.

This

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This he took from *Homer*, whose Imitator he perfectly was. He propos'd him for a Pattern in his *simple*, though *noble* Expression, and almost in the whole Order of his Discourse, that is *lively* and *animated*. *Marcellinus* adds, that he betook himself to one *Prodicus* of the Island *Cos*, for the exact Choice of Words, and to *Gorgias* of *Leontium* for Order and Disposition. And besides that, this *Historian* form'd himself upon *Pindar* for the *Sublime* Style, and the Greatness of Expression, which was his Excellence.

He had also learnt of *Socrates*, by the acquaintance he had with him, the Art of a Frank, and Ingenuous *Narration*, which he was so well accustom'd to, and which procur'd him the *gift* of *Persuasion* in so high a measure: true it is that never any Man knew how to use his Reason better, or to make it more prevalent by those *natural*, but *strong* and pressing Turns he gave it: 'tis in this likewise he so far Transcends the rest of *Authors*, speaking nothing but what was Essential to his Design. This it is that gives that Weight, Force and Dignity to his Discourse. He is indeed sometimes a little irregular in his Narrations, but 'tis always an Effect of *Art* more than *Disorder*. 'Tis only to *inspirit* what he says, and to *paint* things in a more *lively* manner, that he expresses as *present*, what is *past*; and as careless as he seems in certain places, he still preserves a justness of Expression couch'd in his Words, so as nothing in the World is more natural than his Eloquence, or more *finely* Natural: His way of reasoning by frequent *Enthymems*, which *Demosthenes* has so well Copied, is strong and vehement; and nothing can be more lively or more engaging, than that Air of his which

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which makes his distinguishing Character. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* concludes him to be the first *Inventer* of that Way, which has set him so far above all other Writers. We in find in the end of that Critick's Discourse, to *Tubero*, the places wherein *Demosthenes* has best expreſt the Force and Grandeur of *Thucydides* in his Imitation. 'Twas upon this great Model that noble *Orator* was form'd, to which he apply'd himself with that exceeding Industry, as to Transcribe this *Author's History eight times* over, to take his Character, and Copy out his Excellence; as we are assur'd by his Commentator *Ulpian* the Rhetorician. And it was chiefly in his Declamations against *Philip* of *Macedon*, that *Demosthenes* imitated that Historian; and in the places where he speaks of the Republicks of *Corinth*, *Corcyra*, and of the King of *Persia*, and in such other Subjects as had reference to those *Demosthenes* had to treat of.

In fine, *Thucydides* had a *nobleneß* of *Thought*, a *choice* of *Words*, a *boldneß* of *Imagination*, a *vigour* of *Discourse*, a *profoundneß* of *Reasoning*, a *neatneß* of *Conception*, a *fineneß* of *Stroke*, *Colour* and *Expression*, which none of the other *Greek Historians* have been Masters of; which gave the most Ingenious *Criticks* amongst the *Ancients* reason to acquaint us, he took the *true Style*, History ought to be Wrote in. And indeed whatever he says, whatever passes through his Mind, receives a Turn of Greatness and Beauty beyond what any others can afford us. He is a *Genius* of an Order above the common Standard, that conceives every thing Nobly, and gives a sort of Elevation to the most ordinary things. This so solid Character of Mind gave him an exquisite *relish* for

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for what was excellent, an admirable *Sagacity* in the Choice of things, an obstinate *Adherence* to *Truth*, (which made him a Critical Observer of every thing any ways conducible to the discovery of it) and an incredible *Aversion* to any thing that was an offence to *Probability*; ever endeavouring more to *profit* than *please*, as he declares himself at the beginning of his Work. Hence he became so careful and scrupulous as to *throw off* many of those Ornaments his Subject might have *wore*; as his *Historian* has observ'd, to the End he might avoid those famous *Rocks*, on which the want of Discretion cast *Herodotus*, as *Arion* and his *Dolphin*, with the rest of his fabulous Adventures. And 'tis on this Account also, that all *Antiquity* has had so great an Opinion of *Thucydides*.

Marcellin. in vita Thucyd.

Dionys. Halic. in Judicio de Thucyd. Num. 9.

But after all, this *great Man* seems to be in nothing worthier of Admiration, than in his Treating of the *Manners* of Men, as one that excellently understood *Mankind*, and had all the *Penetration* requisite to *unfold* the most intricate *doublings* of the Heart: 'Twas from this profound Knowledge, he could so well discover the *Springs* and *Motives* of the nicest Interests, and the most imperceptible *Movements* of the secretest Passions that set Mankind on work: 'Twas through the shrewdness of his *View*, that he stor'd his Mind with those grand Maxims of the *publick Good*, and all those *political* Considerations wherewith his *History* abounds: And upon which he built his principal Reasonings for the establishing of States, and continuing them establish'd. From this so vast, and rich Fund, it is he draws out those *noble Sentiments*, and *admirable Reflections* he makes upon the Management of the *People*, and Conduct of their *Governours*, and from whence he

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he deduces those excellent *Principles* that are the first Foundations of that *Equity* and *Honesty* which make *flourishing* States; and those sound *political* and *moral Maxims*, which serve for Rules to guide Men in their Duty. Hence it is he Circumstantiates every thing with so much Distinction, keeping close to *necessary* Particularities, and cutting of what is *useless* or *superfluous* to the Subject. Hence he takes those lively, affectionate and pathetical *Descriptions*, that embellish his Discourse: From hence it is he forms the project of his *Narratives* of Battels, Sieges, Assaults, Defences, warlike Expeditions, popular Commotions, and all those Agitations that usually happen in Commonwealths, through the Nature of their Government, which are ever judiciously Circumstanc'd. To conclude, 'tis from that *rich Treasury* of the knowledge of Men's Manners he has taken all those Rules of *Decency*, which teach him to represent all Conditions, Persons and Actions as their Quality and Capacity demand; and from whence he has Form'd that *wonderful Art* of Eloquence that renders him absolute Master of those he speaks to, in perswading them to whatever he desires. 'Tis by this Art he engages and *fixes* the Mind of his Reader upon the *Action* he describes, by so dazling Colours and lively Images, representing to his Eyes, as it were, rather than his Understanding, the things he speaks of, moving his Passion, raising his Attention, and filling him full of the matter he's Expressing: Whilst the Mind, *dragg'd* along with a pleasing kind of *Violence*, lets go its hold, and is willingly carried away by the *Impetus* of the Current, for the better *Attending* to the Impression.

But

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The Character of Livy.

But though all *Authors* indifferently make use of the *same* Terms and the *same* Expressions, yet each has a *peculiar* Character, because the order and management of his Discourse is different; as every *Painter* has a *particular* way, though all have the *same* Colours. Take then the *Character* of *Livy*. He had, together with all the Accomplishments of *Thucydides*, in which he equally excell'd, an advantage of *Birth* above him, a natural *Felicity* for all things fine and great, wherein he had a Palate extraordinary delicate. He had an exquisite Faculty of expressing his Thoughts nobly, an admirable *Genius* for Eloquence in general, that is, for the *purity* of Discourse; for a *fineness* of Speech, for the *dignity* of Expression, and a certain *elevation* of Soul, that made him most fortunate in his Imagination. He was, to compleat these Qualifications, *choice* in his Words, *just* in the Order of his Discourse, *great* in his Sentiments, *noble* and proportionate in the Disposition and universal *Oeconomy* of his Design: He was, in short, Master of all the *Rhetorick* of History: For *History* has a peculiar *Rhetorick* of its own, and this *Rhetorick* has its Rules. *Quintilian* says his *Style* is *sweet* and *fluent*, that it has a greater Tendency to *Solidity*, than *flash and lustre*; and is most pleasing to those who had rather be *Affected*, than *Dazzled* and *Amazed*. His Air is *great* and noble in its *Simplicity*, and he has a *softness* of Expression, ever supported with much *Force* and Majesty. His Discourse is *animated* in so *lively* a Manner, as suffers nothing to *droop* or languish. And the *Turn*, the *Cadency*, the *Graces* he gives to all he says, the *Justness* of his Words, the *Clearness* of his Sense, every thing he has is *admirable*. Perhaps there was never *Historian* more engaging by the Talent

Illa Livii *lactea ubertas satis docebit eum qui non speciem expositionis sed fidem quærit.* Instit. l. 10. c. 1.

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lent he had of expreſſing Nature to the Life, and giving her a *different* Face, as became her *ſeveral* Conditions, painting her always in her *proper* Colours, making every Paſſion ſpeak its *Genuine Language* that it might have its effect upon the Mind. Hence it is he's ſo incomparable at *Painting* the *Manners*, that his *Potraitures* are ſo *like*, that he *expreſſes* every thing in the *Features* that become it, never *confounding* thoſe Beauties which Nature has diſtinguiſh'd.

He eminently exceeds the reſt of the *Hiſtorians* in that perfect Knowledge he has of all *decorums*, which is a Science indiſpenſably neceſſary to a Man that will write *Hiſtory*; ſince nothing carries a *face* of Truth, but from an exact Obſervation of what is *agreeable* to each particular. See how he diſtinguiſhes the *different Ages* of the Common-wealth, by the *difference* of Spirit and Manners that reign'd in it. 'Tis by this Principle *Hannibal* and *Scipio* preſerve their Characters ſo well in this *Author*; where nothing is touch'd in the ſame Manner, or wrote in the *ſame Tenour*. From hence it is that *Rome* could ſpeak otherways under *Kings* and *Tribunes*, than in the Reigns of the *laſt Conſuls* and *Emperours*: That every one in that Hiſtory ſtands mark'd with a *diſtinguiſhing* Character. The Hiſtorian often changes the *Style* it ſelf. His Diſcourſe has *authority* when it Inſtructs, it has *ſweetneſs* and *condeſcenſion* when it Perſuades, *neatneſs* when it Relates, is *graceful* and elegant when it would Pleaſe, is *fervent*, *moving* and *pathetical* when it would Affect. He is *moral* and *inſtructive* where it is requir'd, giving Leſſons to the whole World, and at the ſame time ſeeming to do nothing leſs.

Finally

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Finally the *length* of his *Period*, which many are apt to reproach him with, is in my Judgment one of his greatest Advantages: 'Tis this only that makes him *majestical*. For a long and ample *Style* never wants *majesty*, when it is, like his, bore up with good Sense, and an exquisite Choice of Words. After all, the World has never been able to discern his Method. He has a secret Art couch'd under a seeming Plainness and *Simplicity*, which makes him appear *natural* throughout his Work. He is particularly sure to practise that Art, in that which seems to have its dependance most on Nature; carefully shunning all manner of *Affectation*, and studying always to be *Simple*: 'Tis by this *stately* and *familiar* way together, which is the most usual Ornament of his Discourse, that he *strikes* the Soul with those wonderful *Impressions*, that he *Shakes* and Agitates it as he pleases, that his Sentiments *break* in upon you through the *force* of his Words, (the Strength of which he very well understood,) and that he always moves those whom he is speaking to by the natural *Energy* of his Expression. This Quality renders him as *vehement* in his *great* Passions, as *soft* and agreeable in the *less*, giving the former a more *active* and lively Mien, and *smoothing* over the latter with a *gentle* and tender Touch. Indeed the Genius he had for the Nobleness of Expression, and the Art he had to manage it so dextrously, and employ it upon occasion, accustom'd him to raise himself upon any great Event. 'Twas here he took a kind of Pride to set forth, as one may say, and shew the most rare and conceal'd Riches of his Soul, in their full Capacity. What Draughts, what Paintings, does he then give you, when the Greatness of his Theme,

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Theme, at once excites him, and furniſhes him with thoſe admirable Opportunities, he knew how to make the beſt of! And it is in thoſe *favourable*, and *naturally loſty* Topicks, that that he raiſes and ennobles his Diſcourſe, by thoſe great Idea's with which his excellent *Genius* for the *ſublime* and majeſtick Style inſpires him, which is his very Character. 'Tis in fine, by the natural and proper Choice of Words, the moſt in uſe, but the moſt Glittering and Harmonious, which add a Luſtre to all the other Beauties of Diſcourſe; he excites in the Mind of his Readers, an Admiration mingled with Surprize, which is quite another thing than the Pleaſure that accrues from meer Perſuaſion.

I ackowledge *Thucydides* has much of this Character, I know likewiſe that *Longinus* reckons him amongſt the Models he propoſes of the *Sublime*; that he has a natural Happineſs at Expreſſing things *nobly*, that he even *ſtamps* the *Image* of the Object he deſcribes upon the very Words; that the Frequency of his *Figures*, eſpecially the *Hyperbaton*, which he uſes in his *Narration*, gives more Heat and Action to his Diſcourſe, by tranſpoſing things, and changing the natural Order of the Time, as a means to keep the Mind *cloſe* to the Subject he repreſents in ſo *lively* Colours; and his *Sublime* is ever ſuſtain'd by a *Greatneſs* of Senſe, and *Vigour* of Expreſſion; and that he has throughout his manner of Writing, a kind of *Loftineſs* that ſtrikes the Mind. For none but thoſe who have a ſolid way of Thinking, are able to *elevate* a Diſcourſe. But it muſt be confeſs'd that the *ſublime* of *Thucydides* is leſs manag'd than that of *Livy*, who knows as well to *ſtoop* in leſſer things, as to mount and *ſoar* in greater;

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and to give those Flourishes and Graces to his Discourse, which *Thucydides* never thought of. Which made **Dionysius Halicarnassensis* say, That *Thucydides* was always beautiful indeed, but scarce ever agreeable; for he distinguishes the *Gracefulness* from the *Beauty* of a Discourse. 'Tis the *Cadence*, the *Harmony*, the *Elegance*, the *Fineness*, the *Sweetness*, the *Lustre* and *Order*, and the proper *decorum* of a Subject, that he will have to make a Discourse *graceful*; and 'tis in the *Grandeur*, the *Nobleness*, the *Majesty*, and the *Gravity*, he makes the *Beauty* to consist. The *Grace* and Mien is generally the effect of Parts and Nature, *Beauty* is often the Product of Art; the one is the *gift* of Heaven, and the other the *effect* of Study.

* *Lib. de colloc. verb. numb.* 29.

'Tis herein, almost, consists the *difference* there is betwixt our two Historians. * *Livy* is fine and agreeable, to a Miracle; he knew how to *strew* his *flowers* in the places that needed them: He had likewise a happy Faculty of *managing* his Ornaments, and *embellishing* his Discourse; which Advantage Nature had not bestow'd on *Thucydides*, who is *fine* without caring to be *agreeable*; that *Austerity* of Temper, which is so natural to him, that *Severity* of Way, that *Exactness* of Sense, that *Correctness* of Reason, and that prodigious *Seriousness* he Wrote with, made him diligently avoid those *charms* of Language, which he disapprov'd in *Herodotus*. The *Beauty* of *Livy* is of a *lovely* and *tender* make; the *Beauty* of *Thucydides* is *stately*, *austere*, and *ancient*, as † *Dionysius* himself calls it: the one is always *noble*, and the other *taking*. The one tyes himself to his Matter, which he precisely pursues; the other gives an agreeable Form to every thing that goes through his Mind. And this is it wherein the essential Difference of their

† *Titus Livius in narrando miræ jucunditatis clarissimæque candoris, Quin. l.* 10. 6. 1.

† *Dionys. Hal in Jud. de Thucyd.*

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Characters consists. Let us examine the *Subjects*, both of them have work'd upon, and compare them likewise in that particular, that nothing may be wanting to a just *Comparison*.

CHAP. IV.

The Comparison of the Subjects of their History.

THUCYDIDES having so great a *Genius*, 'twas impossible he should conceive any mean Design. So *lofty* a Mind could not admit *low* and *groveling* Idea's. The *Peloponnesian* War, which he undertook to Write, was at that time, the most curious Subject of History in being; *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* assures us too, that he preferr'd it before that of *Herodotus*. And he says, that having laid before him for a Model, the Two most celebrated *Historians* of his Time, *Herodotus* and *Hellanicus*, he found fault with the *Subjects* each of them had taken. *Hellanicus*'s Design, who had attempted to write the *History* of *Athens*, look'd too uncompounded, too narrow, and of too little Action; *Herodotus*'s *History*, which contain'd the Wars the *Grecians* wag'd against the *Kings* of *Persia*; that is to say, all the Memorable Actions that happen'd in *Europe* and *Asia*, for Two Hundred Years space, seem'd too vast and unwieldy. He thought so great an Object very disproportionate to the Mind of Man, unable to comprehend in his Thought so mighty a Project: Upon which he mistrusted his own

The Subject of Thucydides.

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Abilities, despairing, in the *thread* of a Discourse, to give that due *Connexion* so different Matters would require, which of themselves seem'd too Extravagant and Incoherent.

So having thought upon his Design, he pitch'd upon a middle and a moderate Way, chusing a Subject capable of being bounded in a less compass than that of *Herodotus*; and of receiving a greater extent than *Hellanicus*'s: engaging himself in the History of the *Peloponnesian War*, which continued Seven and Twenty Years. But to ascend to the Fountain-head of that War; it Commenc'd upon the occasion of the War betwixt *Corinth* and *Corcyra*. *Peloponnesus* is a kind of Peninsula in the *Archipelago*, formerly going by the name of the Country of *Argos*, and now of the *Morea*. The *Corinthians*, the more potent People of the Two, being attack'd by the *Corcyreans*, who were the ancient *Phæacians*, the *Athenians* engag'd in their Interest, and the *Lacedemonians* took the *Corinthians* into their Protection. The two Republicks, *Athens* and *Lacedemon*, were then in the most flourishing Condition they were ever known in; and as their Power was arriv'd to the highest Pitch, and their respective Grandeur gave a mutual Jealousy of each other, that War was a kind of Dispute betwixt them for the Empire of *Greece*.

The *Athenians* began to be suspected by the *Lacedemonians*, under the Government of *Pericles*, who was become the Favourite of the *People*, by his *popular* Behaviour. He had the absolute Administration of the Affairs of *Peace* and *War* in the Republick for Forty Years together, by that admirable Talent he had in *Oratory*, becoming an *incontrollable Sovereign* in *Athens*; he made that City formidable to the rest

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reſt of the Commonwealths of *Greece*, by the ſeveral Embaſſies he cauſed it to depute either upon its real, or pretended Intereſts: Which thing rendring that *Republick* ſo highly conſiderable in all the Countries round about, caus'd the *Lacedemonians* firſt to take the Alarm; and theſe two States exaſperated by a long Emulation, began to diſpute the Sovereign Power, by a formal War they declar'd, for which the War of *Corcyra* and *Corinth* was only a Pretence. All *Greece* was concern'd, and moſt of the Neigbouring People engag'd in the Quarrel, which became the moſt Famous in the World; and they ſided according as their different Intereſt, or different Pretenſions carry'd them, to this or that Party.

Thucydides reflecting in his Exile on that famous Diſpute betwixt Two of the moſt *polite* and *warlike* People in the World, found nothing that could better employ his Leiſure, than the Writing of their Hiſtory: And being reſolved upon it, conſulting his own Breaſt, he had ſufficient Strength to write what he knew himſelf; and what he could collect from thoſe who had borne a part in Affairs, in a Controverſy of that Importance, ſo as to give a good Account of it to Poſterity. It is true, the different Temper of the *Spartans* and *Athenians*, that uniform Conduct he obſerv'd in *Lacedemon*, for the continuance of the ſame Form of Government, without the leaſt Alteration, which made that *Republick* ſo *powerful*, as to be able to give *Laws* to its Neighbours; that *Severity* of Diſcipline, *Rigidneſs* of Morals, *Frugality* of Living, *Modeſty* of Habit, all oppoſite to the *Luxury*, *Pompouſneſs*, and *Politeneſs* of *Athens*: Beſides the conſideration of that *People*, always giddy and wavering in their Sentiments;

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which was a true Image of Lightness and Inconstancy, compar'd with the Constancy and Resolution of the *Lacedemonians*, promis'd him fair Idea's for the compleating such Pieces as were likely to please, from their Diversity and Opposition: Those great Generals, *Themistocles*, *Pericles*, *Theramenes*, *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, with so many others that had the principal Commands on both sides, and all the *Grandees*, who signaliz'd themselves more eminently by their *glorious* Actions in that War, whose Names have all along been magnify'd in so high a manner, furnisht him with noble Subjects, whereby he might recommend himself by representing them to the Life.

Add to all this the strange Accidents that War was disturb'd with, as extraordinary Earthquakes, frequent Eclipses of the Sun, Droughts, Famines, Plagues, and other more fatal Adventures, which gave him a Privilege of *diversifying* his Work, mingling it with *terrible* Subjects, and most *frightful* Occurrences. There might probably be other more engaging Prospects than these foremention'd, that determin'd this *Author* in the Choice of his Subject, which seem'd worthy to employ his Pen, from such a Retail of mighty Circumstances, as render'd that War, (as he himself in the beginning of his Work confesses) the most remarkable Enterprize in all Antiquity: Especially since *Athens* and *Lacedemon* were at their highest Point of Glory, and all *Greece* interess'd itself in that Expedition. Sure it is also, that *Xenophon*, who was a Man of a singular Judgment, found the *Peloponnesian* War so fine a Subject, that he quitted those other Works he had before him, to accomplish that *History Thucydides* had left imperfect, by reason

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ſon of his Death, that took him unexpectedly.

As great, notwithſtanding, as this *Subject* ſeem'd to this *Author*, it muſt not come at all in Competition with *that* which *Livy* went upon. There is ſo great a Diſproportion betwixt them, that there's no room for Deliberation concerning the Preheminence. This is the *entire* Hiſtory of many Ages, of a *People* almoſt always Victorious, and that made itſelf Maſter of the World. 'Tis a vaſt, and unfathom'd Ocean, a Carriere of ſo unbounded an Extent, that it may be ſaid, ſuch a grand Deſign never entred the Head of any Hiſtorian beſides him. Others, who have undertaken as long-winded Pieces, in proper ſpeaking, are *Compilers*, not *Hiſtorians*. In fine, 'tis one of the greateſt Attempts of a Humane Mind; and poſſibly never *Author* appear'd in a vaſter *Theatre*, as one may ſay, than He. But 'tis not only from the long *ſucceſſion* of Time, and the *multitude* of Years, the Subject is ſo great: 'Tis through the Grandeur of a People that was *Sovereign* of all others: 'Tis by the *glorious Actions* of this People, in their Warlike Expeditions, and Treaties of Peace, which they diſpatch'd ſo Honourably for the Intereſt of their State; 'tis from a Thouſand almoſt *incredible Events*, wherewith Fortune exercis'd their Vertue; 'tis in that *Prudence* they manifeſted in their Councils, the *Maturity* of their Deliberations, *Diligence* in executing their Deſigns, their *Secrecy* and *Faithfulneſs* in the moſt important Affairs, and their *Reſolution* in unavoidable Dangers, and the greateſt Extremities. In ſhort, every thing ſeems ſtrange and wonderful in that admirable Deſign. The *Originals* of that State, *The Subject of* Livy.

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which grew so mighty from so small beginnings, its *Progress*, its *Changes*, its Vicissitudes, the Revolutions of its Power and Greatness, its *Exaltation*, and almost inconceiveable *pitch* of *Glory* it arriv'd to; by its patient enduring *Hardships*, by its Perseverance in *Labours*, by the exact Observation of *Laws*, by the inviolable Severity of its *Discipline* in the *Duties* of Peace and War, and by training up a well regulated and martial Soldiery, encourag'd and exalted with the only Thoughts and Prospect of *Aggrandizing* the *Roman* Name.

Thus then this *Design*, consider'd well in all its Circumstances, is the most glorious *Subject* History ever had. 'Tis a long Train of the Adventures of a People that being *scandalous*, as it was, in its Origine, coming of an Extraction in a manner *Infamous*, Born and Nurs'd in *plunderings* and *murders*, train'd up to *villanies*; became *wise*, *frugal*, *just*, passionately *studious* of *Glory*, *faithful* to its Allies, and professing *Uprightness* in all things. 'Tis the Story of the Fate and Fortunes of a *City*, that rais'd it self to universal *Empire*, and became the *Metropolis* of the whole World; from a Troop of Vagabond *Shepherds*, accidentally pack'd together upon the Banks of *Tiber*: 'Tis the Conduct of a Government wherein the Observation of a *rigid* Discipline, concurring with a *ready* and faithful *Obedience*, was had in greatest Honour and Regard; tho' the Principles thereof were very lame and defective. For the *Senate* of *Rome*, having subdued other *Nations*, could no longer suffer *Equivocations*, or Disguises in its *Consultations*: Loose, unresolv'd, feeble, interessed, dishonest Councils were no more heard of. 'Twas a Nation that was *vertuous* through a *principal* of *Honour*; whose *Valour* was

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the Product more of the *Head*, than *Heart*; that courted or avoided Danger, from a *result* of Prudence; and knew as well when to expose it'self, as when to retreat, by the *Dictates* of Reason; and obtain'd the *Sovereignty* over the rest of the World, more by the Reputation of its *Vertue*, than the Force of its *Arms*. This is the true Character of the *Romans*, whose History *Livy* undertook to write. And as nothing seems finer amongst all the works of Reason, than the Relation of a great Enterprize, happily conducted to a glorious End, through a thousand Obstacles and Oppositions: As nothing is so pleasant, as to see the Progress of that Conduct, through the successive Degrees of its Augmentation and Strength it gathers by little, and little from Poor, Mean, and Contemptible Beginnings; so nothing is more proper to be related, because it will appear agreeable in all its retail of Circumstances.

The History of a *People*, or a *Prince*, that is always *successful*, can never it self Succeed: It will have too much *Uniformity*; and nothing is more insipid in a Relation than too long a Prosperity, and a perpetual Success. There must be *Variety* of Events, Changes of Fortune, Contrariety of Adventures, all sorts of Objects that are fit to attract the Mind of the Reader, by their Diversity. And all this abounding in *Titus Livy*'s History, far more than in any other, it is undoubtedly the most absolute Subject an *Historian* could have fallen upon. 'Twas from this View that *Livy* forthwith pitch'd upon it, as finding in it those favourable Advantages for his *Genius*, which he knew how to dispose of to their best Use, in the Execution of his Work. This Subject so No-

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ble, so Great, so Rich, through so many different Adventures it included, seem'd a *weight* not too *heavy* for his Shoulders. He found a means of confining himself in so Immense a Matter without lanching into *needless* Digressions, and Amplifications, as the generality of *Historians* do. The *Greatness* of his Subject, which he so well gave us to Understand, by his natural *Distrust*, in shewing only his own Weakness, and the Disproportion of his Strength, at the entry of his Work, did not at all discourage him; because he saw that *compass* it took in, as vast as it was, reduc'd to the *Unity* of a single State, whose Fortunes he describ'd. That *Darkness* likewise, and Uncertainty he found under the first Consuls, which perplex'd the Coherence of the Subject, in the Beginnings of the Republick, prevented not his Resolutions: For he knew how in those *Confusions* to do his part *sincerely*, not vouching any thing for *certain* but what he found to be *so*; and Doubting himself the first, of that which was Doubtful and Suspicious.

Besides that *strength* of *Genius* which he found capable of so great a Design, in the ordering and management of its Parts, in the just Proportions of an accomplish'd Piece; besides that thorough Understanding he had of his Subject, wherewith he had stor'd his Mind: The Knowledge he got of the World in *Augustus*'s Court by his *acquaintance* with all the most accomplish'd Persons in the *Empire*; *Rome*, that *Magazine* of Vertue, that *Seat* of Grandeur and Majesty, as *Cicero* Styles it, began to furnish him with lofty *Ideas*, which he all along displays in the several places of his *History*: He began to polish himself in a *Court* the most *delicate* that ever was: Where all that had a *Genius* for Learning,

Roma Domus virtutis, imperii dignitatis, domicilium gloriæ, lux orbis terrarum, &c. Cic. de Orat.

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Learning, had a moſt *exquiſite* Palate for what ever was fine and excellent. He was Inſtructed by the *Commanders* that were about the *Emperour* in Military Diſcipline, in the Marches of Armies, Encampments, Sieges, and all that belongs to the *Art* of War, which is beſt underſtood by *practice*. He obſerv'd the *Humour* that prevail'd moſt in that *Court*, and the Taſte of the People, who were become very Polite: He form'd himſelf upon all this, diſcovering by degrees infinite things, of which he had been altogether ignorant, without this Correſpondence. The Familiarity he had with the *Twelve Tables*, which were contain'd in the *Faſti* of the *Capitol*, taught him the *Ancient Romans* manner of Life. The Succours he elſewhere hop'd to receive through the *Emperours* Favour, of having Memorials neceſſary for his Hiſtory, and the Hopes his Friends gave him of their Aſſiſtance, encourag'd him to conquer the Weariſomneſs, and ſurmount the Uneaſineſs, which are the general Attendants of ſuch tedious, and almoſt endleſs Undertakings.

But as ſoon as he had made all ſufficient Preparations for his *Work*, and was aſſur'd of ſuch Succours, and Encouragement, as he thought neceſſary for its Execution, he bade Farewel to all the World, that he might give himſelf wholly up to his Enterprize; having nothing in his Thoughts but the *Work* he was about, to which he Sacrificed his Fortune, his Pretenſions, the Preferments he might hope for from his Princes Favour, and his own Merit; his Pleaſures, his Hopes, his Eaſe, his all. And never *Author* had that Zeal and Induſtry, to accompliſh what he had propos'd.

CHAP.

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CHAP. V.

A Comparison of the History of Thucydides, *with that of* Livy.

THE Attempt of Comparing these two *Historians*, as to their Performances, and of drawing a just Parallel betwixt them, is so Rash, and so much above my Capacity, that I am so *far* from imagining, I shall be able to content the Publick in this Point, as to be sensible I can never satisfie my self in that particular. And I must confess, to speak sincerely, it is rather a *Project* of a *Comparison* of the two Works than a *Comparison* it self. But I hope this *Project* will suffice for my Design, which is to give the *Learned* leave to determine of the Preference of these two *Authors*, and their *Works*, by the Essay I shall make thereof, which can pass but for a very imperfect part of this Piece. Here is the Abridgment of *Thucydides*.

An Abridgment of Thucydides's *History.*

He begins his History with an Universal Notion he gives us of *Greece* in general, and with *Pelops*'s Descent into *Peloponnesus*, (from whom it deriv'd its Name) after the War of *Minos*; thence he enters on his Matter, and so passes to the *War* of *Troy*. This is to ascend *too high*: And this *beginning* is not suitable, and proportion'd to the *Body* of the History, which is only a particular War betwixt *Athens* and *Lacedemon*. However he had his Reasons wherewith to justifie it; and that *exordium* is a kind of *Platform*, to represent the *state* of his Country, on which

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which it was expedient for him to insist, to make it understood; he descends there, probably, to too many Particulars, which give us Reason to believe he more studied to satisfie the *Inclination* he had for his Country, than the *taste* of an indifferent Reader. He gives there too much Reins to his Carriere: For he might have reduc'd that long Digression into narrower Bounds, as not being altogether so necessary for the understanding his History as he Imagin'd it. But he had a Mind to engage his Readers, by giving them great Matters, and to accustom them by little and little to embrace his Opinions, and Sense, by filling them with his Ideas. Notwithstanding one shall be hard put to it to forgive him the vast Excursion, where he immediately falls upon the *Trojan War*, as also, the Relation of the Transactions of *Greece* since that time, the different Adventures of the Country, the several Expeditions by Sea, the Trading of the City *Corinth*, that grew so rich by Commerce.

Hereupon indeed he enters upon a Narrative of the Advantages of the People of *Greece*, who became so Potent by Sea: Whence he passes to the several ways of building their *Vessels* and *Galleys* and gives an Account of the Use of them. And that *Narration* tends directly to his Point; for these are the Preparatives of the War he is to describe. But methinks he has crouded too much Matter into his first Book, out of a desire of prefixing a too stately *Portal* to his History. He has not confin'd himself enough in assigning the several Reasons of the Breach of Treaty, betwixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, to give a very exact Account of the Causes of that War he undertook

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dertook to write. He has not always so cleverly open'd the Particulars of that Affair, as his Subject demanded. But he has shewn himself profoundly skill'd in the different Interests of *Greece*: And the general Notion the *Historian* gives of the Forces of the Country, both by Sea and Land; the Description he adjoyns of the Ancient *Greeks*, and of those of his own Age; the Abridgment he makes of the *Persian* War, is an happy Beginning for his History, in as much as there is something Great in those Particulars.

But the Subject of the second Book becomes still more Material, by the *List* of the *Allies* who engag'd in that War, on both sides: For he reckons up almost all the *Common-wealths* of *Greece* one after another, which took contrary Parts, as they were dispos'd by their Interests and Relations to the two *Republicks*, *Athens* and *Lacedemon*, of which they were either *Allies* or *Favourers*. And the *Historian* bestirs himself here exceedingly, by reason of the different Embassies the several States deputed to each other, which put the whole Country in Ferment and Commotion by their Factions and Intrigues: And all this is still made Greater by the Art he has of Interessing in that War, which at the bottom was but of small Moment, all the Countries of *Greece*, *Sicily*, and part of *Italy*, the *Generals* also of the *King* of *Persia*, who make all a grand Figure in that Expedition; and engaging, as one may say, *Heaven* and *Earth* and all the *Elements* in that Quarrel, to make it more considerable, through those prodigious Circumstances, of Eclipses, Earthquakes, Plagues, Famines, Mortalities, and other Prodigies, of which I have already spoken: And which he introduces in his History

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to give a greater Idea of his Subject. It muſt be acknowledged the Wit of the Hiſtorian is very Apparent in that part: And that ſo *inconſiderable* a War as that of two *petty* Nations could never have been of much *importance*, but by means of that Pompous Retinue of Circumſtances it came attended with. And herein he can never be ſufficiently admir'd, whilſt we reflect upon the Art he had of ſupporting a little Subject by Treating it in a Method great and noble.

He continues his Second Book with the Deſcription of the Condition the Town of *Athens* was in, when the Enemy made a Deſcent into the Country, by *Oenoe* the firſt Frontier Garriſon on the Coaſt of *Bœotia*, as alſo of the Havock *Archidamus* made about *Eleuſine*; whence paſſing through *Acarne*, he came and poſted himſelf within two Leagues of *Athens*: The Alarm being ſpread abroad, *Pericles*, who at that time had the Adminiſtration of Affairs, refus'd to convene the People, leſt the Fright they were in ſhould put them upon ſome Abſurdity or Extravagance, through too much Weakneſs. He relates next the ſeveral Enterprizes of each People upon one another, without eſcaping any memorable Action, the reſt of the Summer; as alſo the Funeral Solemnities the following Winter, paid to the Honour of thoſe who were ſlain in this firſt Campaign; and he deſcribes the Ceremonies thereof: wherein *Pericles*, who had adviſ'd the *War*, made an *Elegy* upon thoſe who had loſt their Lives in it. Probably never Man ſucceeded more happily than he in infuſing Courage into the *Living*, by celebrating the Memory of the *Dead*, and ſetting before their Eyes the Glory of *dying* for their Country with their *Swords in hand*

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hand, especially for a Country so Glorious in all things as was then the Commonwealth of *Athens*. There is nothing in that Discourse but is set off with all that Dignity, which shines so eminently in this Historian. The Description of the *Plague* in all its Particulars, which comes after, stands rightly placed, for the intermixing that Variety which is requisite to make a History taking.

The *Athenians*, crush'd almost at the same time with a *War* and *Pestilence*, which laid their Country desolate, began to murmur against *Pericles*, who hereupon assembled them, in order to encourage them, by justifying his Management. That *Harangue*, howsoever Forcible, by those Masterly and Engaging Strokes he gave it, had but little Effect upon their Minds, who were sensible of nothing but their Misfortunes: he was discarded presently, and as suddenly restor'd. The Inconstancy of that People over whom he had gain'd all the Authority his Merit and his Eloquence deserv'd, hastned his Death, which happen'd not long after. The *Encomium* the Historian makes upon that Great Man, affords us a very fine Idea of his Vertue: His Loss was none of the least Disgraces that fell on *Athens* in the second Campaign. For there being no one left behind of so Eminent a Quality to fill up his place; his Successors, as *equal* perhaps in Merit, and *rivals* in Dignity, wanting sufficient Power to *rein* up a People with an *absolute* hand, were oblig'd for their Interests to manage them *remissly*, and to sooth and flatter them into Obedience.

After the Death of *Pericles* the posture of Affairs was more untoward than formerly. *Sicily* began to be in Commotion, and to arm for

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for *Lacedemon*: the Siege of *Platea* was form'd in *Bœotia*, the Aſſault was Vigorous, and the Defence as Reſolute. That *Siege* deſcrib'd at length in the ſecond Book, falls into a Blockade: thence follows the Attempt of the *Athenians* upon *Chalcis*, to give a Diverſion to the *Lacedemonians*, which occaſion'd them to enter *Acarne*, to make themſelves Maſters of the Iſles *Zacynthus* and *Cephalenia*, as alſo of *Naupactus*, in order to prevent the *Athenians* Sailing about *Peloponneſus*. But as perplex'd and embroil'd as Affairs were, through the heat which was diffus'd in the Minds of the People, and their ſeveral Engagements with each other, in the end of the ſecond Book, they are clear'd off by the Hiſtorian with that Eaſineſs and Perſpicuity, as renders that an Admirable Piece: The Naval Battel of the *Athenians* againſt the *Corinthians* at *Naupactus*, and that of the *Lacedemonians* againſt the *Athenians*, are deſcrib'd in ſuch a retail of Circumſtances as is wonderfully taking with the Reader. The Advantages they had over each other, being reciprocal; there was an Endeavour on the Enemy's ſide to ſurprize the *Pirean* Haven near *Athens*; which prov'd unſucceſsful for want of due Meaſures in taking the Advantage of the Occaſion.

This Book, and the third Campaign, concludes with the *Thracian* War in *Macedonia*. Never Hiſtory compriz'd ſo much Matter in ſo little room, nor ſo much Action in ſo few Words. If any thing can be found fault with, 'tis that the Exploits are too *cloſely wound* with one another, ſo that the *Coherence* ſeems ſomewhat intricate and confus'd; and that *multiplying* of Objects tends only to *diſſipate* the attention of the Reader.

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He begins the Third Book with the Revolt of *Lesbos* from the *Athenians*, and the Attempt of the *Athenians* upon *Mitylene*, which sent *Embassadors* to *Lacedemon* to demand Supplies. That Oration is so insinuating, and full of Artifice, that the *Lacedemonians* could no way resist it. *Mitylene* is receiv'd into the Alliance of *Peloponnesus*. The Harangue of *Cleon* upon the Affair of the Prisoners of *Mitylene*, which some were for putting to Death at *Athens*, of which Opinion he himself was; and that of *Diodotus* who was for having them pardon'd, are very strong and perswasive. *Platea* being at last surrendred up to the *Athenians*, that Town sent to justify its Conduct to *Lacedemon*. There are to be seen in the Discourse of that Embassy fine and curious Strokes of Eloquence; nothing can be more moving, or founded on more substantial Reasons, yet all to no purpose: The *Plateans* fell a Sacrifice to the Revenge of the *Thebans*: which makes a notable incident in the History. The Historian, taking the Hint from the Troubles of *Corcyra*, makes a Digression upon the Factions that grow in a State, and the Disorders that spring from them, which is a very good Lesson for *Governours*. That which follows of the Affairs of *Sicily*, the Warlike Exploits of the *Athenians* in that Country, their Defeat in *Etolia*; the *Lacedemonians* Attempt upon *Naupactus*; the Purification of the *Isle* of *Delos*; and the Description of that *mysterious* Ceremony perform'd by the *Athenians*, is expres'd in a Noble, Great, and Stately manner.

The Author quits the War of *Peloponnesus* in the Fourth and Fifth Books, to enter upon the Affairs of *Sicily*, which occasion'd several Enterprizes upon *Megara*, *Boetia*, *Thrace*; the Battel

Battel of *Delia*, the taking of *Amphipolis*, *Thoronus*, and several Expeditions which are related in one and the same strain. The Business of *Sicily* gave Birth to a Truce betwixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, whereupon was form'd a Treaty of Peace betwixt them, which lasted seven Years: The Historian is here oblig'd to make a kind of an *Apology* to justifie the Continuation of his History, pretending that League was broken and renew'd, done and undone several times, that the War was never interrupted, that the Treaty was never put in Execution, by reason of manifest Trespasses; the *Lacedemonians* having never quitted *Amphipolis*, which their Articles oblig'd them to do. To speak Truth, that Treaty was never ratify'd by the Allies, which gave rise to several other Leagues amongst them, and many other Affairs. But all that Campaign was spent in Negotiations of Peace, which were put an end to, by the Battel of *Mantinea*, from which was dated the Renovation of the Alliance betwixt *Argos* and *Lacedemon*.

The Sixth Book is a large Digression upon the Wars of *Sicily*, which begins with a long Description of the Country, and the Founding of *Syracuse* by *Archias* the *Corinthian*. He shews a great deal of Ancient and far-fetch'd Learning in that Description, but it is not pleasant and agreeable: it is too remote from the main Subject, and falls not rightly in, unless it be that the *Sicilians* thought of coming to maintain the League of *Peloponnesus*. *Alcibiades*'s Discourse to perswade the *Athenians* to a War with *Sicily*, and that of *Nicias* on the other hand to dissuade them, are two of the chiefest Master-pieces of Eloquence in their kind. The Description of the *Athenian* Fleet, and all the

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Equipage of War, in their Preparations against *Syracuse*, is very handsom. *Alcibiades*'s Oration to the *Lacedemonians* in his Banishment, advising them to send a Reinforcement into *Sicily*, that was attack'd by the *Athenians*, is a Piece of lofty, lively, strong, and generous Eloquence.

The Defeat of the *Athenians* at *Syracuse*, and the Description of the Battel, is the finest part of the Seventh Book; nothing is better drawn, or more absolute, than the Picture the Historian makes of it: 'tis handled throughout with abundance of Art and Mastery. The Destruction of the Power of the People of *Athens*, on occasion of a Negotiation with *Alcibiades*, who had thrown himself into the hands of *Tisaphernes*, Lieutenant-General of the *King* of *Persia*, because he had interfer'd with the *Lacedemonians*, who receiv'd him in his Banishment, is describ'd in this Book particularly enough. He was sought to in his Disgrace for an Accommodation, which he disdain'd to hearken to, but upon Condition the *People* should not be consulted; only the *Officers* of the *King* of *Persia*, who were honourable *Gentlemen*: The Reluctance he shew'd in exposing himself to the Inconstancy and Humours of the *People*, occasion'd the Destruction of *Democracy*; which is very well open'd and related.

The Digression upon the Change of Government in *Athens* and *Samos*, where it was attempted to *humble* the too excessive *Power* of the People, has very little relation to the principal Design of the History, which is the War of *Peloponnesus*: and this last Book is generally very confus'd, and has nothing finish'd; which has given reason to some *Criticks* to think *Thucydides* was not the Author. This is the

Abridgment

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Abridgment of his History. Now for that of *Titus Livy*, that we may make the Parallel.

An Abridgment of Livy's History.

There is nothing that can give us a better Notion of the difference betwixt these *two Authors*, than the different ways of Writing they have taken. For *Livy* takes a course quite contrary to that of *Thucydides*. The Entrance to his History is great, suitable to the Greatness of his Subject, but it is modest and humble: it may be said too not to want Simplicity, though it is Pompous and Majestick. With what admirable Discretion does he introduce that ancient Tradition, which makes *Æneas*, the first Parent of *Rome*, of a Divine Descent. He treats it as a *Fable* that he would neither *maintain*, nor *overthrow*, intimating there is so much Deference and Respect to be paid to *Antiquity*, as to give *her* leave to mingle something *divine* with *human* Affairs, to recommend the Originals of Cities and Empires, as more auguſt, and venerable to Mankind by such a mixture. He hence descends to something of a more solid Consideration; and to give us an Idea of his Work, He begins it with an Elogy upon the Vertue and Probity of the People whose History he is writing, yet still preserving himself from being blinded with Self-love, and carried away with the Inclination a Man naturally has for his own Country. For he scruples not to give you their ill Qualities as well as their good, that is, the Remissness as well as Severity of the *Roman* Manners; but without any prepossession of Interest or Passion, and with all the Prudence in the World. That Beginning of the History, where the Author fetches the Origin of *Rome* quite from the Destruction of *Troy*, and the whole Pedigree of the *Kings* of *Alba*, is in it self a little cumbred

Quæ ante conditam urbem poeticis decora Fabulis ea nec affirmare nec refellere in animo est. Hist. Rom. *l.* 1.

bred and confus'd, both in the words and things, and has a Style that has hardly any thing Great in it. One may see the Author avoided flashing at the first: The things he speaks are great, but his way of speaking is low and humble; and there is much Artifice in that entrance, which the Author debases on purpose to shew that the Beginnings of the *Roman* Grandeur were but small, and the better to observe the Progress of that State. He however fails not to relieve the *destiny* of that Empire, from the Nobleness of its Extraction, deducing it from the God *Mars*, whom he makes the Father of *Romulus*.

Debebatur fatis tantæ origo urbis, maximique secundum deorum opes imperii. *Hist.* Rom. *l.* 1.

The haughty and fiery Temper of *Romulus* is finely drawn; but the Picture of his Successor *Numa*, and his Government, makes that Founder of *Rome* seem more haughty than he really is: That Opposition is very advantagious in those two Characters. The Fierceness of the first, however softned it seems by the Religion of the second, is set off the more by that kind of *contrast*, which is pleasanter in *History* than in *Painting*. Those petty Battels under the first *Kings*, and kinds of Apprenticeships, the *Roman* People serv'd in War against their Neighbours, are heightned by the Expression of the *Historian*, who can, when he pleases, animate little things with an Air of Grandeur. The Engagement of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, for the Decision of the Fate of *Rome* and *Alba*, is an Adventure that beautifies all that part; for 'tis admirably related. The *Expulsion of Kings*, which is the greatest Event in the two first Ages of *Rome*, is render'd more remarkable by *Lucretia*'s Exploit, who stabb'd her self before her Husband's Face, for having been dishonour'd by young *Tarquin*; and the making

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making that Circumstance the most material in that Revolution, recommends the Relation more effectually to the Reader, interessing his Affection, by so surprizing an Adventure. All the Consequences of that Revolution become more considerable, by a Foundation so Solid, and of so great a Lustre.

Scævola's Attempt is Painted in the Second Book, with all the Colours so Great, Heroick, and Extraordinary a Design is capable of. The *Love* of his *Country*, to which that Design ow'd its Conception; the Contempt of Life, upon which it was form'd; the Proposition that *Gallant Gentleman* offer'd the *Senate* in ambiguous Terms, that so he might merit their Approbation, without incurring Disgrace; that Undauntedness of Action, and Resolution of Soul, and Courage in revenging on himself the miscarriage of his Blow; all is of that Spirit and Elevation as is hardly to be parallel'd. And 'tis impossible a Description of a like Enterprize should be supported with more astonishing Circumstances, with more disdainful Language, or greater Sentiments. *Porsenna* King of *Clusium*, who was besieging *Rome*, amaz'd at so prodigious an Instance of Valour, demanded Peace of the *Romans*; and that Peace was the Product of so desperate an Undertaking. But finally, that Probity he attributes to a People grown fierce and untractable by the constant Practice of Arms; that *Justice* and *Clemency* they exercis'd in the very *Pride* and Height of their Victories; that *Love* of *Glory* he ascribes to them; that noble Pride from whence he draws their principal Character; that Greatness of Soul, and Loftiness of Thoughts, the Dignity of the *Roman* Name inspir'd them with; the Ingenuity of the *Se-*

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nate in its Suffrage, instanc'd in their taking Generals from the Plough: That Spirit of Wariness, Frugality, Innocence, and Equity so much practis'd, and had in Honour, in the raw and unpolish'd Beginnings of the Common-wealth: The publick Spiritedness of *Brutus*, who sacrific'd his Children to the Safety of his Country: The *Poverty* of *Curius*, who, after he had *inriched* the *Republick* with the Spoils of the Enemy, had not wherewith to bury him: Moreover those grand Maxims, engrav'd in all Hearts, truly *Roman*, never to brook Disgrace: The Resolve of the *Senate* after the Defeat, by *Hannibal* at *Cannæ*, never to hearken to a Proposal of Peace: those Ideas of Equity, intimately impress'd on their Minds: that great Sense of Honour, Fidelity, Love of their Country, and Liberty; Their incomparable Knowledge in the Art of War, the Severity of preserving the Laws of War in their utmost Extent: that invincible Patience in Dangers and Hardships; and all those other Vertues wherewith the *Author* has stor'd his *History*, in innumerable Examples, are the most usual Strokes he gives for the compleating of their Character. This was the Spirit that reign'd in the Common-wealth in those troublesome Times, when the Power of the first Consuls was balanc'd by the Institution of *Tribunes*, to bear up the *People* against the Encroachment of the *Nobles*.

After the Second *Carthaginian* War, and the Defeat of *Hannibal*, the taking of *Numantia*, the Conquests of *Sicily*, and all *Greece*, we may observe other sort of Manners, and a quite different Spirit introduc'd in the Republick, through that abundant Prosperity their Arms brought in, Politeness, and Love of Genteel

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Genteel Art, a Delicacy of Palate, and the Study of Learning began to be eſtabliſh'd in *Rome*, and to give quite another Countenance, Mode, and Luſtre to the Government, which the Hiſtorian has admirably laid open in all its Circumſtances. The Second Part alſo that remains of his Hiſtory, or rather the Two laſt *Decades*, are incomparably better than the Firſt. For as to the Second, which contains the Succeſſion of Wars againſt the *Samnites*, againſt the People of *Etruria*, and *Lucania*; againſt the *Gauls*, againſt King *Pyrrhus*, againſt the *Tarentines*; the firſt *Punick* War made by *Attilius Regulus*, and that againſt the reſt of the People of *Italy*, we can ſay nothing of, ſince all that Decade is entirely loſt.

Finally, *Scipio* and *Lælius*, who were the perfecteſt Models of that Politeneſs which was, through the Study of Learning, ſet up at *Rome*, and who were themſelves the worthieſt Gentlemen of the *Republick*, compleated the Perfection of that State, already ſo far advanc'd; cauſing the Love of *Eloquence* and *Poetry*, and all *Arts* and *Sciences* to flouriſh in it; and 'twas by their Example, and the Converſe and Familiarity with the *Greeks*, which the *Romans* had juſt Conquer'd, that they Civiliz'd themſelves, utterly baniſhing out of their Republick that rude, ſurly and unmannerly Carriage, their conſtant dealing in Arms had introduc'd. 'Twas then this Victorious People began to Plume it ſelf upon the Notion their Proſperity and Succeſs had inſpir'd them with, that they were born to be *Lords* and *Governours* of the reſt of the World. And from thence it was that the love of Liberty, and the thirſt of Glory, ſo much poſſeſt them: This is the Image *Livy* gives us of them after the Second

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Second *Punick* War, and during the Third; these are the principal Ingredients of their Character. For Plenty had not as yet debauch'd the Minds of a People, Vertuous, upon so good Principles, as the *Romans* were. There runs through the whole Character of *Scipio*, who was at the Head of Affairs, a Spirit of Religion, which shews that Vertue alone was in greater Reputation at *Rome* than ever; one need only see the Air the Historian makes him speak him, in his *African* Voyage; the Discourse he makes in the Twenty ninth Book in his Departure from *Sicily*, abounds with all the Sense of Piety, an honest Man is capable of. *Cato* gives his Voice in the *Senate* against the Luxury and Dress of Women, in the Thirty fourth Book, with the same rigour he would have done in *Plato's imaginary Republick*. Every thing favours of Vertue, both in the People, and in the Senate: And nothing better manifests the Spirit, wherewith the *Senate* govern'd the *Republick* at that time, than the Verdict it pass'd upon the two *Ambassadors*, *Marcus* and *Attilius*, Commission'd to the *King* of *Persia*; who gave some uneasie Suspicions to the *Romans*, as being a Man of Courage and Understanding. They said, in accounting for their Negotiation, they had amus'd that Prince with the Propolals of a Treaty, and the Hopes of a Peace; that they had thereby prevented him from making Warlike Preparations, and took off his Allies from making their necessary Preparatives, and putting themselves in readiness. The *young Senators* had nothing to object to their Proceedings, which seem'd novel to those who had grown Grey in the Government, and were highly disapprov'd by the *Ancient Sages*; who alleged, it was not by these

Marcus & Attilius *Romam cum venissent & nulla re magis gloriarentur quam decepto per inducias & spem pacis Rege* Perseo. Hist. Rom. lib. 42.

Veteres & moris antiqui memores negabant se in ea legatione Romanas agnoscere artes, ut astu magis quam vera virtute gloriarentur. Hist. Rom. lib. 37.

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these Methods their *Ancestors* arriv'd to the *Sovereignty* of the World: But by *Vertue* alone, and Fidelity towards their Enemies, no less than that they exercis'd towards their *Friends*. Insomuch that that sort of Disguise, and Tricking, which had a tendency to Treachery, were ever held as Means not to be practised, and Paths their Probity and Vertue knew not how to tread in.

Moreover nothing is more bright and dazling, in his History, than the Idea *Livy* gives us in the Fourth Decade, and in the Beginning of the Fifth, of the Dignity and Power of the Senate, which was grown the absolute Master of the Republick; all things stood to its Resolves, and submitted to its Orders. If King *Antiochus* restores to *Scipio* his Son, whom he had taken Prisoner, and Petitions him for a Peace, *Scipio* answers, in Capacity of a *Private* Person and a *Father*, that nothing in the World could more Oblige him to it than the Present he had made him of his Son; but in Quality of a *Roman* and *General* of the Troops of the *Republick*, he could no ways grant the Peace he demanded, for that lay only in the Breast of the *Senate*. And after the Defeat of *Persens*, the Senate grew so absolute, that all stoop'd to its *Authority*, Consuls, Generals, Armies were obedient to it. The Ambassadors of *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, *Ptolemy* King of *Ægypt*, and *Cleopatra* his Sister, make it the *Umpire* of their Quarrels. King *Massiniſſa* sends his two Sons to *Rome*, to Complement the *Senate* from him, upon their Defeat of King *Perseus*. *Prusias* King of *Bithynia* dispatches his Son *Nicomedes* to *Rome*, to put him under the Protection of the *Senate*: But how must the *Historian* Treat the *People* of that

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Positis jam adversus omnes mortales ce taminibus haud secus quam Deos consulere, & parcere vos generi humano oportet. Hist. Rom. lib. 37. *Maxime semper animo victis regibus populisque ignovistis, quanto majore vos animo decet facere in hac Victoria quæ vos dominos orbis terrarum facit.*

that Republick, whereof that *King* Styles himself a *Freed-man*, glorying in so magnificent a Title; and whose Clemency *Antiochus*'s Ambassadors, (who came to beg Peace of *Scipio*) implor'd, as if it had been from the Gods themselves: *If*, say these Ambassadors, *out of a Greatness of Soul you have Pardon'd those Kings and People you have Vanquish'd, what ought you not to do in that Victory which makes you Masters of the World?* And this was it, that made this People, in their Victories, take upon them the glorious Title of Deliverer of other Nations. To conclude, nothing is so Great and Majestick as the Image the Historian gives us of the *Republick* in those happy Times. There you may see King *Perseus* chain'd to the Chariot of *Paulus Emilius*, to enhance the Glory of the Triumph. Next is to be seen *Gentius* King of *Illyricum*, with his Wife and Children vanquish'd by the Pretor *Anicius*, and led Captive along the Streets of *Rome*. There are the *Ambassadors* of *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and of his Brother *Eumenes*, in Posture and Quality of *Supplicants* before the Senate of the *People*. Thus possibly never Historian had so great a Subject, nor supported the Grandeur of it better by the Dignity of Expression, and Loftiness of Idea's. See then the End of what we have remaining of *Livy*'s History. For after follow the Successful and Victorious Times of *Sertorius*, who subdued *Spain*; of *Pompey* who subjected to the Republick *Mitridates*, *Tigranes*, *Armenia*, *Cicily*, and the other Provinces of *Asia*; and of *Cæsar* who Triumph'd over the *Belgians*, the *Gauls*, and most part of the *Northern* People, as *Pompey* had over those of *Asia*. This is then the Abridgment, or rather the *Extract* of *Livy*'s *Roman* History, which it was necessary

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neceſſary to reduce into this Form, the better to apprehend the Nature of it; and thus this Hiſtory is preferable to that of *Thucydides*, becauſe it repreſents a mighty Deſign carried on by regular Methods to the top of its Perfection, and a Republick grown up to be *Miſtreſs* of the *Univerſe*, from ſo ſmall and inconſiderable a Foundation: But now let us obſerve the Imperfections and Beauties of theſe two Hiſtories: That which is ſtill behind, for the Accompliſhment of the Compariſon.

CHAP. VI.

A Compariſon of the Faults of the two Hiſtorians.

'TIS a very bold Undertaking to enquire into the Failures of ſo accompliſh'd Authors as *Thucydides* and *Livy*: For, to find fault with thoſe which a Man ſets up for Models and Exemplars, is to deſtroy what he would eſtabliſh, and undermine the Credit of that he deſires to Confirm. Beſides that, it ſeems unmannerly to Criticiſe upon theſe two Great Men, when Antiquity recommends them to us as the Perfecteſt and moſt Abſolute of all others. But as nothing is more Eſſential to Man than to *err* and ſlip ſometimes; and thoſe who pretend to be moſt *Infallible*, have their Faults; I preſume the Criticiſms I ſhall make upon theſe two *Hiſtorians*, will make not a little for their Praiſe; and that the World will be better ſatisfy'd of their Excellence, when I have examin'd their Faults, which may ſerve

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to set off the greatness of their Merit. For 'tis not so much by *avoiding* Faults, as by a *direct tendency* to his Point, without any Deviation, that an Author shews himself: He that proceeds in the directest Line, and wanders out of his Way the least, as does *Thucydides*, is the most accomplish'd in *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*'s Opinion. Let us see what it is wherein *Thucydides*'s History may be reprehended.

Dionys. Halicarn. *de Elium Tuberon. Num.* 3.

He is not so Fortunate in the Management of his Subject, as in his Invention, which always bottoming upon a great Fund of Reason, never fails him. He often confounds his Subject by Anticipating, or else Suspending, or lastly Interrupting his Narrations, which break off the Course of the History, and dissipate the Mind of the Reader, by the multitude of Objects that present themselves. For instance, in the third Book he begins a Matter relating to the *Mitylenians*, and before he has finish'd it, he skips to an Expedition of the *Lacedemonians*: From that Expedition, which he leaves Imperfect, he undertakes a Relation of the Siege of *Platea*; which he abandons, to return again to the *Mitylenians*. And upon their Account, he touches upon something of a Sedition happening at *Corcyra*, wherein the People divided themselves, some siding with *Athens*, and some taking the part of *Lacedemon*. Thence he passes to the business of *Sicily*, and again pursues other Affairs without concluding any. And the whole Book is stuffed with such a multitude of Matters, and so different from one another, that a Man is quite lost, and can never be able to discover the Natural Thread of the Principal History. And this is one kind of Fault in a Narration, which should ever have Union and Connexion, and be still endeavour-

Thucyd. *Failings.*

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deavouring at the Scope it propoſes; that ſo it may fix and determine the Mind of the Reader to the ſame Object, without offering any thing to diſengage him from it.

Again, 'tis pretended, he has not Explain'd, ſo cleverly as he might have done, the Cauſe of the War he goes to Write: *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* is of Opinion, he has not given the True one; at leaſt, that he has mingled together with the True one, (which was the *Lacedemonians* Jealouſy, of the too great Power of the *Athenians*) other Cauſes which are not True. Undoubtedly he is ſomewhat Dark in that Place. The Occaſion of that War is much finer Explain'd in the Life of *Pericles* in *Plutarch*; where the Author makes it appear, that it was *Pericles* who firſt Inſpirited the *Athenians*, by the frequent Embaſſies he adviſed them to Depute, in order to perſuade all *Greece* to enter into a Confederacy againſt the King of *Perſia*; which gave the *Lacedemonians* Reaſon to ſuſpect them: For thereby *Athens* gave itſelf a conſiderable Regard, which it never had before, and by that Diſtinction ſeem'd to take a kind of Preheminence above all other People.

That large Amplification upon the different Characters of the People of *Greece* in the Proem, their ſeveral Expeditions, which he drives up as high as the *Troſan* War; the Luxury of the *Athenians*, which he is too curious in Deſcribing, talking even of their Curling their Hair: What he ſays of the Modeſty and Frugality of the *Spartans*, and what he adds concerning one *Aminocles*, a *Corinthian*, who firſt taught the Art of Building Ships; and ſuch other looſe and unconnected Matters he treats of as a Preface to his Hiſtory, are nothing to his Purpoſe in *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*'s

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ſis's Opinion. He thinks he might have let all that alone, and have enter'd on his Subject without making ſo great a Ramble from his Deſign: He concludes likewiſe, that his Hiſtory has for its Subject not only the War of *Peloponneſus*, but all the Affairs of *Greece*; for he brings in the Enterprizes of the *Athenians* in *Chalcis*, the Breakings in of the *Thracians* into *Macedonia* in the Second Book, the War of the *Leontines* and the Concerns of *Sicily* in the Third Book: And thus he ſeeks out Matters that are Foreign, becauſe his own Subject is unable to furniſh him with a Variety enough out of it ſelf; which is the Reaſon there is ſo little Accord and Union in his Work. There are two Wars, one of *Peloponneſus*, and the other of *Syracuſe*, without any Reference to, or Connexion with one another.

That celebrated Funeral Oration in the Second Book, which he makes *Pericles* to ſpeak, is neither Agreeable, nor Proportion'd to the Occaſions and Perſons that it concerns; and the *Hiſtorian* himſelf confeſſes, that Affair had nothing memorable in it, in Reſpect of that which he deſcribes in the Fourth Book, under *Demoſthenes* near *Pylus*; where the *Athenians* were Routed both by Sea and Land: And thoſe who fell, Signaliz'd themſelves much more than in the former Defeat, in which only a few of the *Cavalry* were ſlain; and all the Circumſtances of the former Battel, have nothing comparable to the other, which he ſlightly paſſes over unregarded. But that the *Hiſtorian* might add greater Weight and Moment to his Diſcourſe, he puts it into the Mouth of *Pericles*, who indeed was *alive* at the firſt Expedition, but was *dead* at the ſecond; in which a little Fault may be found with the Sincerity of the

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the Author, ſo Celebrated elſewhere for his Integrity: He is Upbraided too for his ſo long and frequent *Harangues*, and for having ſo little Variety. It is true, the Number of them is great; but ſince the Humour of *Athens* and *Lacedemon* was to have every thing done by Haranguing, whilſt the People were in Power, he muſt unavoidably Harangue them, ſince they would have it ſo. After all, the *Hiſtorian* knows how to abate the Heat of his Eloquence, when he diveſts himſelf of the Orator, and puts on the Hiſtorian.

The *Athenians* dejected by their Loſſes, and the Waſte the Plague had made in their Country, having the firſt diſpatch'd a famous Embaſſy to demand a Peace of the *Lacedemonians*; *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* blames the *Hiſtorian* for paſſing ſo conſiderable a Point ſo ſuperficially over; and reprehends him for not ſo much as naming the *Ambaſſadors*; (which ſeem'd very Material in that War, through ſo conſiderable an Alteration in their Characters;) nor making mention of one Tittle of the Embaſſy: He that at other times would diligently Court every Occaſion, to Introduce *Towns* and *States*, Diſcourſing by ſo frequent Deputations. It is certain he is guilty of a little Negligence in ſo notable an Opportunity, where he might have made his Country ſpeak ſo fine Things, and have added more Renown to his Hiſtory, by the Talent he had of Haranguing ſo excellently well.

I Omit ſeveral other Places *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* diſlikes in this Author; becauſe he runs into an Exceſs, over-ſtraining his Criticiſms through a Spirit of Animoſity, againſt that Hiſtorian, whoſe Reputation he endeavours to leſſen, that he may with more Eaſe

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set up *Herodotus* against him, who was his Country-man, wherein his Procedure has a Tincture of Partiality; not but that he had just Reason for it in many Particulars, but he had not in all. He is frequently too rigidly Censorious, so that it is necessary to Correct Spleen, at least not to be carried away with it without Examination. These following are the other Faults the generality of the Learned find with *Thucydides*. He leaves too much to his Reader's *Conjecture*, whether for want of Care to Explain himself clearly, or whether through an Earnestness to Express things nobly, he does it in fewer Words; by which he often falls into such *Obscurities*, as the whole World can never reach his Meaning, because his Sense is as it were choaked with the multitude and force of his Images, which he crouds into his Expression. But by that *affected Loftiness* that every where abounds in him, he without Scruple over-bears all the *Rules* and *Decency* of Construction; which he seems very little to Regard, provided he can express himself with the more Grandeur. 'Tis also through the self-same Principle, that the *Figures* he makes use of, are for the most part *violent*; that the *Colours* he Paints things in, are too *strong*; that his *Strokes* are too *deep*; that he has a *Theatrical Air* diffus'd through his Discourse, by means of Expressions, that sound *tragically*, and of a *Character* not much different from that which *Pindar* took by his too much following *Eschylus*; that the Historians which preceded him, were more careful of Expressing things plainly; that he is too *Figurative* in his Speech; that he affects an *uncouth ancient* Way, in Words worn out of use, or Inauthentick; that there is nothing of *Sweetness* in his Expres-

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Expreſſion; that he *cannot* Paint a thing with any *Softneſs*; that his Diſcourſe is Diſagreeable; that he was utterly unacquainted with thoſe Graces and Charms his Predeceſſor *Herodotus* ſo well underſtood; and that in fine, by the natural Proſperity of his *Genius*, he runs into a dryneſs of Style, which renders his Diſcourſe harſh and impoveriſh'd.

There are thoſe who puſh their Criticiſms farther ſtill; pretending he has not ſufficient care to ſearch into the *bottom* of Things; that he is too *Superficial*; that he *ſimply* relates Tranſactions, without giving us the *Reaſons* of them, or explaining the Motives that led to them: They add, there is no *Turn* in his Periods, no *Harmony* in the Cadence, no *Agreeableneſs* in the Words, no *Fineneſs* in his Diſcourſe: That there is very little *Variety* in his Harangues; that there are perpetual Embaſſies, wherein are large Diſcourſes, excellent indeed, but *too prolix*, and too ſtudied: 'Tis thought he took that Method from *Homer*, who, to make his Narration the more Lively, makes thoſe he introduces in his Poem, talk Everlaſtingly. The Dialogue he makes between the *Athenians* and the *Melians*, upon their different Intereſts, in the Fourth Book of his Hiſtory, has ſomething of the Nature of a *Dramatick Poem*, where things are Play'd by ſeveral Perſons that are introduc'd; for which there is no Precedent in any Hiſtory, which ought to be united, and continued in a Thread, without Interruption: In ſhort, this is not ſuitable to *Thucydides*'s Character of Simplicity. 'Tis ſuppos'd too, that he makes the *Greeks* have more Courage than Strength: Their Ability is not anſwerable to their Pride; and one cannot always have an Opinion of their Merit great

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enough to ſupport that preſumptuous Arrogance he puts into their Character. For their warlike Exploits went no farther often, than the Plundering a Village, or Overturning the ſide of a Wall: He is a little deficient too, by giving petty things more ſtreſs than they can well bear, and in not giving the greater ſo much Weight as they require.

Beſides that, the Diſtinction he makes of the Campaigns, by the Seaſons, is not always neat enough; it is moreover tedious, becauſe he is oblig'd to uſe the ſame Terms, and the ſame Tranſitions, which cauſe a Diſagreeableneſs in a Diſcourſe: And by too ſcrupulous and ſuperſtitious an Adherence to his Method, he leaves his Matter unfiniſh'd, and his Narrations interrupted. Others carp at I know not what Abſtruſeneſs of Style, that wants a little Clearing. I paſs by that Digreſſion in his Eighth Book, upon the Change of the Government in *Athens* and *Samos*, when there was a neceſſity of Curbing the Power of the People, who abus'd their Authority, and carried things to an Exceſs of dangerous Conſequence to the State. The Criticks have not, without good Reaſon, reflected on the too great Length of that Digreſſion, for the little Relation it has to the principal Deſign. The Reconciliation of *Alcibiades*, with the People of *Athens*, who had Baniſh'd him, without declaring the Reaſon why; and how he broke with the Republick, and was reconcil'd again; which is a Subject of the ſame Book, is methinks a little Defective. Something more had been due to ſo conſiderable a Man: Many other of the like Faults are to be met with in *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, whom it is but turning to, to find them.

But

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But for my own part, if I thought the Failings that are laid to the Charge of Great Men, were to their Diſhonour, I could eaſily vindicate *Thucydides* in the greateſt part of thoſe they Object againſt them. I could ſay he was poſſeſs'd with ſo high a Notion of the *Sublime* Style, that he affected it in all things; that all beſides ſeem'd inconſiderable, even ſo far, as to trample on the moſt common Rules of Grammar, by the change of Tenſes, Numbers, Genders and Perſons; provided he could thereby exalt his Expreſſion, and add more heat and vehemence to his Diſcourſe: I could maintain, that the little Connexion there is in ſome of his Narrations, is more the fault of his Subject, than his Underſtanding. For at the Bottom, the War he deſcribes, has nothing in it of a continued and premeditate Deſign: One ſhall not ſee any Enterprize regularly form'd, well contriv'd, and well executed: 'Tis all tumultuouſly Tranſacted, according to the different Movements, or Paſſions of the People engag'd in the War. And 'twere eaſie to make an Apology for the Author, in his other Faults imputed to him, if a Man would have the Patience to Reflect, that he was only Careleſs in ſome things, to add greater Perfection to others, which he thought of more Importance. For it was often on the account of Elevating his Style, and writing Majeſtically, that he over-look'd ſome little Negligences he has been Reproach'd with. Thus I would take care to excuſe thoſe Faults of his, by which he arriv'd to ſo great Perfection.

The Faults of Livy.

As for *Livy*, he has been more Happy than *Thucydides*, in that he has not fallen into the Hands of ſo moroſe a *Critick*, as *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*: And that Antiquity has ever had

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so great a Deference to his Merit; upon which no one has so impertinently Criticiz'd as on other Authors, of as establish'd a Reputation as himself. But since nothing is so Absolute, but some Men will find fault with, take what they Reprehend in this Historian. 'Tis said that his Style is too *diffusive*, and that by his continual *Amplifications* he wants that *vigour* and *strength* which is admirable in *Thucydides*. And they are *Beny and *Bodin* in particular who find the most to Carp at; since they judge not of *Livy* by the general Consideration of his Work, which demands Grandeur. He may be censur'd for that *extent* of his *Style*, but that Fault is readily pardon'd, if it be a Fault, upon Consideration, that 'tis only that *Diffuseness* that makes him Stately and Majestick. The Dignity of his Design, and the Nobleness of his Thoughts required a copious Style, and 'tis in that this Author's Majesty principally consists.

Livium ut verbosum in Historia & negligentem carpebat. Suet. de Calig.

* *Poet.* c. 2. l. 2. *de* Conf. Hist.

It must be own'd, he is sometimes Obscure, as well as *Thucydides*; but there is no necessity of absurdly troubling ones Head to understand him all; for there are many Places in him which are, in their own Nature, Difficult: As the Explication of Ceremonies, Customs and Matters of Fact; of which we have neither any Knowledge, nor Idea. He affects too, the usage of very ancient *Latin* Words, which now are Obsolete; and he has peculiar ways of speaking, unknown to the other Authors, and only proper to himself. Besides all this, 'tis probable he has been Corrupted in many places, whether by those who were the first Copyers, or by the ancient Editions; whether by the Moderns, or by the false Conjectures of unskilful Criticks; who pretending

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to correct him, where they have not understood him, have quite spoil'd what they would have mended; so that we are far from having *Livy*, such as he was at first. *Turbenius* will have *Sigonius* to be the only Man amongst the *Criticks*, who has us'd him well, and set him best to rights.

There are those who disapprove some bold Expressions and Thoughts he has, whereby he over-leaps the Bounds of Modesty, to which he is a great Pretender. I confess, he sometimes ventures such sort of Sallies, but always with the greatest Prudence; for as much as he knows how to make good use of them in the moving part of his Discourse, wherein nothing succeeds better than that which is least contriv'd. That too great Inclination of observing nicely, whatever he found Monstrous in his way, and attributing the Reasons of it to supernatural Causes, as to the Anger of the Gods, smells strongly of the Heathen, somewhat too Superstitious. St. *Gregory* the Great taxes him with this Fault, in *Casaubon's* Preface to *Polybius*, being persuaded he only intermix'd these *Prodigies* in his History, to authorize his *Religion*; which I fancy was less in his Thoughts than the seeking Variety, to enliven the Dulness and Melancholy of his Narrations. That *rustical Air*, *Asinius Pollio* finds fault with in this Author, which has given occasion for the Niceties and different Opinions of the *Criticks*, is in my Judgment only an ill Pronunciation that sounded a little Country like, and was offensive to the Courtiers, accustom'd to all the Delicacy of *Augustus's* Court: at least it is the Sentiment of *Quintilian*, who was too piercing a Wit himself, and too near a Neighbour

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bour of those Times to be ignorant of the Mystery, which he wholly imputes to the Pronunciation.

In Tito Livio mirae facundiae viro putat inesse Pollio quandam Patavinitatem: quare si fieri potest verba omnia & vox hujus alumnum urbis oleant, ut oratio Romana plane videatur non civitate donata. lib. 8. c. 1.

Others assure us he was not exact enough in furnishing himself with Instructions, by diving to the bottom of his Subject; that he only wrote from the *Memoirs* of the Conquerors, who had undoubtedly suppress'd what made for their Disadvantage, and that he has not justly distinguish'd one from the other. They add, that if *Livy* had been at the same Expence to purchase the *Memorials* of *Carthage*, as *Thucydides* to obtain those of *Lacedemon*, he had not expatiated so largely upon the Glory of the *Roman* People: he would doubtless have found some Particulars where to have done more Justice to *Hannibal* and his *Republick* than he did. For opposing *Rome* and *Carthage*, as two Cities *Rivals* in Glory, it lay upon him to display the Grandeur, Riches and Power of the *Carthaginian* Government, and he had done more Honour to his Country, by extolling the Merit of those who disputed with it the Empire of the World.

Some Men blame him for taking the main Instructions of his first Decades from the ancient *Origins* of *Rome*, which are full of Forgeries, and scarce have any thing else but Fabulous Traditions; since the Use of *Annals* was but of a late Date in that *Republick*, as *Sigonius* observes. Moreover *Mascardi*, in his Treatise on History, lays much Negligence to the Charge of this Author, for not having open'd the greatest Events in all their Circumstances, especially

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especially such as were principally necessary to the understanding the Importance of Affairs; which are found elsewhere, as in *Appian*, and other less exact *Historians*. But let us see the Faults of *Livy* more in particular.

He is obscure in some Places of his Beginnings, as for Example, in the Line of Descent of the *Kings* of *Alba*, which he has not unravell'd plain enough. The *Revelation* of *Romulus*, after his Death, that *Rome* should become the *Capital* City of the World, and all the Particulars of that Apparition, seen by *Proculus*, and which he related to the People, has something so Enthusiastick in it, that one is amaz'd an Author, of so solid a Character, should suffer such a Story to pass, without giving it a more plausible Turn; yet he relies upon it, and gives it not out for a Tale or a Fable. The Adventure of *Lucretia*, as wondrous as it is, is not so admirably put together, there is something wanting to its Probability; a Man knows not upon what Grounds she kills herself. If she has suffer'd Violence, why does she *punish* her self since she cou'd not *resist* it? Why would she not *die* before she was Ravish'd? Is it *Modesty* or *Vanity*, is it *Wisdom* or *Despair*, is it *Love* of *Vertue* or *Glory*, that makes her stab her self? All things rightly consider'd, one knows not what it is. If she could not open her Eyes at the Horrour of her Condition, her Vertue is either too *nice* or too *Self-interess'd*: in short, that wants a little Neatness. And St. *Austin*, who examines that Action, in all its Circumstances, in the Nineteenth Chapter of his Book *De Civitate Dei*, has much ado to discover what his Thoughts are of it. Is not that Audaciousness of *Clelia* too, a little Extravagant? and considering the Make of *Tyber*, was

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was it a thing Practicable? could a Maid, naturally Timorous, ever think of attempting so dangerous a Passage in a River that has Brinks almost inaccessible? For though *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* agrees with *Livy*, in the Description of that Adventure, *Val. Maximus* expounds it in a manner that looks much more probable.

'Tis pretended also, that the Historian shews too much Partiality in the Ninth Book of the first *Decade*, in the Comparison he makes of *Alexander* with the *Romans*, in Point of Valour: He seems to divest himself too much of the Character of an *Historian* in that place, impertinently to play the *Declaimer*; giving the Preference to his *Country-men* before the *Conqueror of Darius*, upon uncertain Conjectures, and without examining the Matter any farther than by extravagant Suppositions, and a List of *Consuls* which the Common-wealth of *Rome* had set up in Competition with him. *Tacitus* reproaches *Livy* with the same Fault, in respect of *Pompey*, for whom he was too partial against *Cæsar*; which *Augustus* objected to him without taking it amiss: On the contrary he commends him, for that instead of *flattering* the Victorious Party in the Civil War, he could not prevail with himself to *condemn* those Worthy Gentlemen, who were engag'd on *Pompey's* side.

Cn. Pompejum *tantis laudibus extulit* Livius, *ut* Pompejanum Augustus *appellaret.* Tacit. An. *lib.* 4.

That Train of Affairs, of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, is spun out to such a Length in the Fortieth Book, the Intrigues of his Family, the Adventures of *Theoxena*, a Princess of *Thessaly* and her Children; the Cruelty of the King; the Quarrels of *Demetrius* and *Perses* his Two Sons; and all that Retinue of Circumstances relating to that Monarch, seems of an Extent disproportion'd

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disproportion'd to the principal Subject of the History, which an exact *Historian* should always keep in view: And that long Digression has, methinks, something Foreign in it to the Business of the *Roman* Story; for what is it to the Purpose of the War the *Romans* wage with that *Prince*, that we must necessarily know all those Particularities? Was it not enough to have related those that concern'd the Controversy betwixt him and the *Republick*; and the War the *Romans* made upon him. *Perse*'s Speech to his Father *Philip*, to justify himself, that long Exaggeration of his Brother *Demetrius*'s Crimes, together with his Answer, is too studied an Amplification, and is a sort of Declamation that has a Relish of the Desk or Bar in it. One might to this add, that the Historian suffer his Eyes to be dazled with that Triumphant and Victorious Air he gives the People, whose History he writes, towards the end of the Wars of *Asia*; where he represents, in too Arrogant and Lordly a Style, Captive *Kings* chain'd to the Chariot of the *Conqueror*, and dragg'd, with their Queens, along the Streets of *Rome*. There is an unaccountable Pride in those Strokes of Glory he gives the Victors; wherein he makes the People too vain, and is not himself so Modest as he might be. It is a *false* Clemency, or a *real* Vanity, to treat *Sovereign Princes* so shamefully, and to pardon their Subjects: Would it not have been much better to have had some Veneration for Crowned Heads? Does not that Respect which is due to Mankind, claim some Consideration for the Governours thereof? And that Greatness of Soul, which is the Character of the *Romans*, that Nicety in Glory, upon which they Plum'd themselves, would have been more conspicuous, by their

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their replacing the Crowns on the Heads of those they had Vanquish'd, than by their ignominious Treatment of them, and their contemptuous sporting on their Grandeur. To conclude, *Livy* with that sound Sense he had so natural and inbred, desiring to give us a good Opinion of the *Romans* Vertue by their Conquests, gives us as scurvy a one as may be by their Triumphs; for as much as he makes a People, when forgetting it self, so far forgetful of its real Glory, as to abandon it self, to all the Pride of its Conquests, and the Extravagance of its Vanity. It had at least been a prudential part in him, to have seem'd to dislike that sort of Management. There are doubtless other like Observations to be made upon this *Author*, if a Man would cavil. Let this suffice, whereby to judge of the rest, since 'tis necessary to fix Bounds to a Subject, that will not bear too many Particulars.

CHAP. VII.

A Comparison of the Excellencies of both Authors.

AS the Faults of a thing strike more upon one, than the Perfections, so doubtless there is requir'd a greater insight to discover what is good, than what is bad therein. They are oftentimes the narrowest Souls, that are the most forward Censurers; for nothing is more easy than to find fault, witness that *impertinent*

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pertinent Fellow mention'd by the *Poet*, who could Reproach the moſt abſolute thing in Nature, I mean the Structure of the *Heaven*, to create an Opinion of his Sufficiency: And indeed it is the Prerogative of the moſt exalted Capacities, to know what is Praiſe-worthy, and to praiſe it as it ſhould be. I am very ſenſible I am not one of that Order, nor ſufficiently Enlightened to diſcern, my ſelf, the greateſt Beauties of theſe two Authors, or diſcover them to others: But poſſibly by attempting theſe little Eſſays, I may be inſtrumental to others to exerciſe themſelves in greater; and by opening the leſſer Excellencies make the Underſtanding ſort of Men ſenſible of the greateſt. Here then is, in my Mind, a part of that which is remarkably fine in both One and the Other; for I pretend not to give an account of all that is ſo.

Qui ut putentur ſepere, cœlum vituperant. Phæd. *Fab.*

It muſt be acknowledg'd in the general, that *Thucydides* had one of the moſt admirable *Genius*'s that ever was, Relating what he had a mind to, with all the Nobleneſs and Dignity imaginable. As he was Eloquent before *Ariſtotle* had wrote his Rules of Eloquence, he was Induſtrious of Improving, with all manner of Application and Study, that wonderful Talent of Speech he had receiv'd from Nature; and he made that Art of his, wherein he excell'd, conſiſt in employing every thing that could any ways *ennoble* his Diſcourſe; and giving all thoſe *Impreſſes*, and *Turns* to Reaſon, whereof it was capable, in order to *perſuade*; laying upon it all the *Weight* it would ſuſtain, to make the deeper *Impreſſion* on the Mind; tending directly to the *Bottom* of Affairs, without ſtaying on the *Surface*; and by a Profoundneſs of Reaſoning, peculiar to him, reducing

The Beauties of Thucydides.

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ducing every thing to the *Fountain-head* from whence it came. But though he bestows nothing upon the *Ornaments* of Style, or the *Charms* of Elocution, yet he is sure to *please*, because he is throughly *sound* in his Discourse, altogether *clear* in his Thoughts, and *solid* in all Reflections. And there is nothing but what is Natural in his Expression, and 'tis by these ways he tends directly to the Soul. 'Tis also the frequent use of the *Enthymeme*, which *Demosthenes* learnt of him, that in some measure, renders him lively, strong and powerful in his Discourse. It is by this Art he domineers over the Resolutions of those he speaks to, that he seizes the Soul of his Readers, and hurries it away with the same vehemence, as if it were an Heavenly-inspired Motion: He carries away the *Spirit* and *Force* of such kind of Reasoning, as gives it not leisure to be *sensible* of his Faults. 'Tis herein he is so successful in engaging, in the Interests he is carrying on, all that hear him. That Seriousness, Gravity and Austerity of his Character, makes his Style noble, masculine, vigorous and abounding in Sense; and that Vehemence of Expression, which sets him so far above other Authors, proceeds only from the Greatness of his *Genius*. For it is not so much the glittering of his Words, as the solidity of Sense, and the nobleness of his Thoughts, and the propriety of Terms, that gives Weight to his Speech. All this is compleated with the utmost Height of so clear and sober Reason, so exact a Judgment, and so noble a Style, that nothing seems more capable of giving a true Relish of what is Excellent, than an Acquaintance with this *Author*.

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Beſides, he is ever ſo full of his Subject, through his profound Contemplation of it, that he leaves nothing for his Readers to deſire, by the Way he has of *circumſtantiating* things. 'Tis meerly by this Art his Narration is ſo delightful, in that he omits no one Particularity, that might be ſerviceable to the underſtanding the Buſineſs he is about. Thus he ſo ſtrongly engages the Mind, by the lively Images of things, that he Paints the *Ghaſtlineſs* or *Beauty* of thoſe diſmal or agreeable Objects he repreſents; and 'tis by this Art of *repreſenting* to your *Eyes* the Things he ſpeaks of, he inforces upon his Reader the ſame Impreſſions thoſe feel who have been Actors, Sufferers, Spectators or Witneſſes of the things related.

I ſay no more of thoſe admirable Orations than I have ſaid already, wherein the *Hiſtorian* ſo perſonates every Man, as to make him ſpeak in his proper Character; having compos'd them by *Pericles*'s Model, who could Charm the People of *Athens*, even in Declaiming againſt them, and oppoſing their Opinions. For *Thucydides* had often heard that *Oracle* of *Greece, upon whoſe Lips dwelt the Charms of Eloquence*, as *Cicero* ſays. Upon this Model he form'd himſelf, and by propoſing ſo great an Example, carried the Art of Speech to its higheſt Perfections, in the Orations that he made: It is certain that Author gave a prodigious Luſtre to his Hiſtory by thoſe Orations: It muſt likewiſe be acknowledg'd, that thoſe ſo Studied and Exact Diſcourſes had quite another Beauty when Extemporary, and ſpoken in the heat of Action and Buſineſs. To all this we may add, thoſe moſt ſolid Principles and Vertues, Reaſon and ſound Senſe;

Cujus in labris leporem habitaſſe dixerunt comici Cic. 3. *de Oratore.*

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Sense; those most establish'd Maxims of Morality and Politicks, and that general *decorum* which runs through all he says, by pursuing particular Circumstances up to universal *Idea's*; and giving Energy to his Reasons, by tracing them to their first Principles, and Sources from which they were deriv'd, which is the thing that gives that substantial Form and Solidity to his Discourse: These are the Beauties of that Author in general; let us observe now his Excellencies in particular.

The Harangue of *Pericles*, who Persuaded only by obtaining a Magisterial Authority over his Auditors, speaking ever in an Imperial Strain, and, as one may say, with *Thunder* in his *Hand*; which occasion'd him to be styl'd *Olympian Jove*: That admirable Discourse that Great Man makes in the First Book of his History, in counselling the *Athenians* to a War, is of a noble Spirit, and abounds with lofty Thoughts. For instance, when he says, to encourage them to take up Arms; *Let us not be concern'd at the loss of our Lands, or Country-Seats; but our Liberty is that which ought nearly to concern us: We are not made for our Estates, but our Estates for us: I am more afraid of our own Vices, than all the Advantages of our Enemy: great Glory, and a mighty Name, is only to be purchas'd by great and dangerous Undertakings.* All the rest of that Discourse is of an equal Force and Exaltation.

But what Wisdom, what Dignity is there in that of *Archidamus* King of *Sparta*, dissuading the *Lacedemonians* from War, in the same Book? *Let us not suffer our selves, says he to be blinded by those Mens Flatteries, who only Praise, that they may Destroy us: Let us preserve our Modesty; which is the Source of our Valour: We are*

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are the only Greeks, *whom Prosperity has not as yet puffed up with Vanity.*

What is there comparable to those Beauties we find in the Funeral-Panegyrick in the Second Book, upon those who lost their Lives the first Campaign of that War; especially where he speaks of the Manners that prevail'd in *Athens*, and of the Government? *Our* Government, says he, *is* Popular, *because the End we propose is the* Happiness *of the* Republick, *not the making of some* particular *Persons; and Honour is the Reward of Merit, not the Privilege of Birth. We love* Politeness, *without being fond of* Luxury; *we apply our selves to the Study of Philosophy, without giving up our selves to* Effeminacy *and* Laziness, *the ordinary Companions of that Study: We take the Estimate of Riches from their Uses, and not from their Pomp; we think it no shame to be Poor, but not to do what is necessary to avoid Poverty, this is Disgrace.* The Interests of each People are examin'd in that Discourse, where *Pericles* gives his Sentence for the War, with all the Sagacity, the most subtil and curious Politicks are capable of. That is a Place worthy of their Study who have the Management of Affairs; Nothing can be better explain'd.

That terrible Pestilence, describ'd in the third Book is so particularly Circumstanc'd, is so Elaborate and Exact, that *Lucretius* has almost entirely Translated it into his Poem; and *Demetrius*, the *Phalerian*, has commended it as one of the chiefest Works of Art, though *Lucian* finds fault with it in his Treatise of *History*: because that Description falls into too great a retail of Circumstances. The Description *Livy* gives us in his seventh Book of a Plague that happen'd at *Rome*, like that at *Athens*, is *Luc. l. 6. versus finem.*

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more succinct, and has a Style more serious The Discourse of the Inhabitants of *Platea*, who in the same Book justifie their Conduct to the *Lacedemonians*, after they had Surrendred to the Enemy, is a piece of Excellency, that *Dionysius*, the declar'd Censurer of *Thucydides*, could not chuse but admire: There is a Justness of Sense, and a Force of Eloquence that penetrates the Soul, and causes a kind of Admiration mingled with Surprize. 'Tis in these Discourses the Models for the method of Persuasion are to be sought, as being such masterly Strokes of Eloquence as are no where else to be found.

The Sea-fight, in the Port of *Syracuse*, describ'd in the seventh Book, so highly valued by *Plutarch*, is express'd so much to the Life, and the Motions of the two Fleets of *Athens* and *Sicily* are so clearly distinguish'd by their different Circumstances, that *Plutarch* himself calls that Description, a lively Image of the Passions of the Soul; 'tis all drawn in so lively and sensible a Manner: Nothing can be touch'd with a finer Hand, or be more absolute than that Piece; which manifests the Excellence of the Art, and the Greatness of the Master. There is likewise, in the sixth Book, an Oration of *Alcibiades*, to persuade the *Athenians*; to resolve upon a War with *Sicily*; which is remarkable for those Draughts of Eloquence and Politicks it is stor'd with: As for instance, when he introduces that great Man, saying, That *turbulent Spirits, such as were the* Athenians, *made greater advantage of Commotions than they could of Settlement*: And *that it was more convenient to stick to the ancient Maxims, though possibly not so good, than to change them for those that are better; because Nature*, says he, *is a Principle*

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ciple of an higher extract than Reason; this being but the common Operation of Man's Soul, and the other proceeding from the Decree of God Almighty. There is a profound Wisdom, an admirable Sense in that Reflection. 'Tis much the same Reasoning that he attributes to *Cleon*, a Citizen of *Athens*, upon the Case of the Prisoners of *Mitylene*; saying, *That ill Laws, well observ'd, were better than good Laws that were despis'd or neglected:* And *that a well-meaning and regular Ignorance, was preferable to disorderly and inconstant Knowledge*: For nothing is more dangerous in a State, than change of Conduct.

Again, what is there more wise or rational, than the *Dialogue* of the *Melians* with the *Athenian* Deputies, in the fourth Book. The *Melians* talk in a Submissive way; which is however noble and ingenious; they preserve well the Character which became the Vanquish'd, without losing that of worthy Men, who knew how to employ their *Reason well*, when their *Sword* had fail'd them. But the *Athenians* lord it in too insolent a Manner. The *Historian* gives them too *contemptuous* a Carriage, not very agreeable to Persons charg'd with a Negotiation? It must be confess'd, nevertheless, that nothing is more sensible or solid than that Intercourse. And the Reproach, wherewith the Ambassadors of *Platea* urge the *Lacedemonians*, in the third Book, of which I have already spoken, is very noble. *If you measure*, say they, *Justice by your Interests, you will give us Reason to believe your Interests are dearer to you than your Glory.* All the Arguments the Historian employs in that Discourse are like the Flashings and Darting of Thunder and Lightning, as his most severe Censurer *Dion. Halicarnassensis* acknowledges; 'tis all Divine, even in his Opi-

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nion. But if a Man would set down all the Excellencies he shall find in this Author's Orations, he must entirely Transcribe them, as did *Demosthenes*. What can be imagin'd more pressing, than that which he makes his *Hero* of Eloquence, *Pericles*, to speak; when he endeavours to perswade the *Athenians* to the War in the first Book? *If it were possible*, (says he to them) *you should be discourag'd by the labour and hazard there is in Conquering; I would advise you to bid farewel to Glory; for 'tis only by Pains and Hardships, ye can become worthy of that Honour.* The Argument is there expres'd in all its Force and Dignity.

Finally, those Grand Principles of Honour, Equity, Honesty and Glory, to which he knows how to give their due Inforcement, are the most usual Characters he imprints upon his Discourse. 'Tis herein he makes use of the purest Reason, not laying more weight on it than it will bear, as the *Sophists* endeavour to do, nor desiring, through a *counterfeit* Eloquence to carry it beyond its *natural* bounds. 'Tis in these *Harangues* that all things shine and glitter, with the Lustre of a noble strong and vehement Eloquence, which he had form'd from the lively Sense he had of Things, and a thorough Understanding of the Subjects that he Treated on. Let us then Pardon him those Discourses, for which we see some Criticks have Censur'd him, since they are fraught with so many Excellencies. For, besides that the *Greeks*, as I have observ'd before, were devoted to that Haranguing Humour, and their *Republican* Spirit authoriz'd that way: This Great Man was very sensible of his own Qualifications, for making States and Commonwealths discourse; by which means he makes his

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his History, of so little and inconsiderable a Subject, to be of so important Consideration: And here he delivers those grand Maxims of Morality and Policy, he understood so well. And though *Cicero* is of Opinion, that the *Rhetorick of the Bar*, through its too great Loftiness, is improper for *civil* Affairs; I maintain that for Reasoning, in the great Affairs of Treaties, and the Negotiation of Peace and War, and in all weighty and important Interests, controverted by States, *Thucydides* is the greatest Master that can be consulted; and 'tis impossible to find, elsewhere, Reason better wrought, by all the wisest Maxims of Government, than in *Thucydides*. And, all things well consider'd, there is not to be found, in other Works, that Force of Eloquence that appears in his.

The Beauties of Livy.

What Wit, what Understanding, what Views must not a Man have, to discover the Excellencies of a Work, conceiv'd in the very purest Reign of the *Roman* Eloquence; and to distinguish those Beauties, that so highly transcend the common Rules as *Livy*'s do: He had an Elevation of Soul, that gave him a noble Conception of things; and it proceeded more from the Nobleness of his Thoughts, than that of his Language, that he was so Happy in his Expression. He was intimately acquainted with Nature and all her Movements; of which he gave us such lively Draughts, that there is ever a surprizing Sprightliness of Soul in his Discourse: And as he had contriv'd a *sublime* Style, by the Greatness of his Expression, which he diffuses through his Work, tho' he manages it with all that Prudence, which was Natural to him, so he has plac'd all the Objects he Represents, in the finest Light imaginable. His Discourse is clear, ever tending to its pur-

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poſe, without making thoſe Starts and Excurſions other Authors are ſo Subject to. His Logick is exact, his Diction pure, his Narration full of Variety: His Order looks ſo Natural, as if the moſt curious Images of things, ſo poſtur'd themſelves in his Mind, as to fall each in its proper Place, to make an abſolute Picture, both in all he thinks, and all he ſays. He diſpoſes of thoſe Images, which he unfolds in his Narration, by a great Diverſity of Ideas; and 'tis by the Diſpoſal and Order of them he is ſo Engaging: And as he ſpeaks more to the Underſtanding, than the Eye or Ear, ſo he ever tends more directly to the Soul.

The Ornaments, which he mixes with his Diſcourſe, and thoſe Flouriſhes he beſtows upon it, are ſo well Husbanded, as to appear only in thoſe Places that demand them, and can bear them well; wherein he ſhews himſelf Liberal without Profuſeneſs. As for the reſt, 'tis generally the Plenty of his Matter, that makes him ſo Copious in his Style, the native Richneſs of his Subjects cauſes that Luxuriance in his Speech: And his Narration becomes taking, by means of its Diffuſeneſs, growing thereby better Circumſtantiated, and more Probable. For nothing is more effectual, to render a thing Credible, than the Knowledge of the Particularities how 'twas acted: Beſides, a Man gives a ſteadier View of the Objects repreſented, by ſtanding a little upon the Turn of a Narration, without precipitating, or exhibiting things in a tranſient Glance. To all which may be added, the admirable Diſcretion he has, to diſſever and ſeparate the Sentiments of Men, and to make them ſpeak and act according to the *Decorum*, of their ſeveral Conditions, in which Nature has inſtated them.

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I am dazled with that Luſtre which reflects from his Diſcourſe, by the Choice, the Harmony, and Elegance of the Words he uſes, and thoſe ſofter Paſſions, that abounds in his Hiſtory, of which *Quintilian* ſpeaks ſo favourably: Thoſe moving and delicate Affections, which he treats with all the Art and Nature imaginable, perfectly Enchant me, by thoſe wonderful Commotions they raiſe in my Soul.

Affectus quidem præcipue eos qui ſunt dulciores nemo commendavit magis. Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

Perhaps never Man came furniſh'd with better Parts, or thoſe more improv'd, to the Writing of a Hiſtory, than he: For he was form'd in a *City*, at that time the *Empreſs* of the World; in which all the moſt important Affairs of the Univerſe were decided: And in the politeſt Reign that ever was, having had ſcarce any other *School* than the Court of *Auguſtus*. There it was he learn'd the Language of the Genteeleſt part of Mankind, and that lively, fine, ſubtle and natural Air, then in Faſhion; that exquiſite Taſte, that purity and nobleneſs of Expreſſion, which was the Character of that Age; and of which there were ſo great Models in all ſorts of Writings, perfecting and poliſhing himſelf upon them. Thence it was he took that Softneſs, neceſſary to pleaſe, and that Force which renders him moving, wherein peculiarly conſiſts his eſſential Character: For never Man united all the Grace and Beauty, with all the Vehemence of Diſcourſe, ſo much as he; ſo much does the Sweetneſs of Beauty temper the maſculine Force and Energy of what he ſays: That there falls not any thing from his Pen too ſtrong, but is ſoftned with a Term more nice and delicate. He prepares whatever is Bold, and heightens whatever is Low, with the

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Brightness of his Speech: These then are part of his Beauties in general; let us now see those he has in particular.

He immediately procures a great Attention, and much Inquisitiveness, by that great *Idea* he gives his Subject, at the Entrance to his Work, when he says, the Destiny of a City, design'd for the *Empire* of the World, ought to have something of Divinity in its Original; and when he gives so great an Opinion of the Vertue of the People, whose History he undertakes.

In the First Book, wherein Events are little, and proportion'd to the Strength of a State in its Infancy, nothing is better related than the Battel of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*; the Adventure is Great and Extraordinary. Two little States, which make War, and Dispute for Sovereignty, give up their Interests and Destinies into the Hands of Two Families, to decide them. What Colours, what Expressions does not the Historian employ in that Combat, where he Paints, with all his Art, the Fears, the Hopes, and the rest of the Passions of the Armies, who were concern'd in that Affair, where the Dispute in hand was, who should be Masters or Subjects of each other. Is there any thing to be seen more strongly Painted, or better Represented? Does not a Man *feel* what the Historian says, and take in the very Sentiments he inspires, by the Impressions his Narration makes upon the Soul? The Adventure of *Lucretia* is finely introduc'd in the same Book, for as much as it renders the Revolution of the Government, which it occasion'd, more remarkable. The Banishment of *Tarquin*, and his Family; the Revolt of the People against the King, whose very Name

was

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was abhor'd; which is one of the greateſt Adventures in the Hiſtory; and all that grand Enterprize is made much more conſiderable and ſurprizing, by ſo illuſtrious and vertuous a Motive.

This dethron'd *Tarquin*, who ſo Pathetically implores the Aſſiſtance of his Neighbours to Re-eſtabliſh him; that Image of the growing Liberty, of the Novel State, after the Slavery it had eſcap'd from; that Pleaſure in the mighty Hopes of a laſting Settlement, wherewith they flatter'd the Deſires of the People; that Eaſe and Quiet they ſenſibly enjoy'd: Thoſe Proceedings *Brutus* put them upon, to make them ſtill more ſenſible, they had the *Power* in their own Hands, as deſirous of *Ruling* as he was himſelf: The ſeveral Acceſſions of the Love of that Liberty that ripened daily, through the Pleaſure they began to take in Dominion; and which ſtill increaſed by the Diſturbances of thoſe tempeſtuous Aſſemblies held under the *Tribunes*: Thoſe Popular Commotions caus'd by the Exceſs of Power they had left them, which it was neceſſary to repreſs by the Creation of *Decemviri*, accuſtoming them inſenſibly to uſe no other Authority but that of Laws. Thoſe petty Wars they wag'd againſt their Neighbours; their Succeſſes proportion'd to their Valour and their Strength; and thoſe *Eſſays* wherewith Fortune delighted to exerciſe that growing *Republick*, to exalt it to the *height* of *Glory*, which it arriv'd to: All theſe, I ſay, Painted in thoſe Colours, the Hiſtorian knew how to order ſo admirably well, are the greateſt Beauties of the firſt Decade; the Events whereof are moſtly contain'd in *Rome*, and amongſt the Neighbouring People, without

Plebs ſolita Regio metu, agitari cœpta Tribunitiis procellis. Hiſt. Rom. lib. 2.

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out going out of *Italy*: And though all is mean and little in the Beginning, according to the Nature or Fate of things of no long Date; yet the Hiſtorian fails not to Elevate his Subject, by the Greatneſs of his Expreſſion, and to inſpire ſeveral Perſons, he introduces, with Noble Thoughts; as *Brutus* and *Manlius*, who Sacrifice their Lives to the Security and Glory of their Country. There are divers Occurrences, in the Third Book, ſet in a fine Light: As the Tranſport of young *Appius*, who ſo furiouſly carry'd off *Virginius*'s Daughter, and that had like to have deſtroy'd *Rome*; ſuch Indignation the People conceiv'd at ſo Brutal an Action: The Havock of that Horrible Attempt, is deſcrib'd in a very paſſionate Air. The Adventure of the Old Senator *Quintius Cincinnatus*, taken from the Plough, to be made *Dictator*, and the Diligence of his Wife, to make him Neat and Cleanly, and to look ſomething like a Gentleman, and all the Circumſtances of that Adventure, are very Naturally Painted. The Hiſtorian, who makes *Camillus* take up Arms againſt the Commonwealth, and to do himſelf Juſtice on a People jealous of his Power, but inſenſible of the Merit of Brave and Couragious Men, makes him ſpeak with all the Diſdain a Noble *Roman* was capable of, when fir'd with Glory: *'Tis* Rome (ſays he) *that calls me back, not to re-inſtate me in my Place, but that I may re-eſtabliſh her in hers:* Which he did by the Conqueſt of the *Veientes*, and the taking *Veii* after Ten Years War. The *Encomium*, the Hiſtorian beſtows upon that Great Man, in the Seventh, is full of exquiſite Senſe; and there is ſomewhat very ſingular and rare in the Praiſes he gives him. The

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Magnanimity of young *Curtius*, who, all in Armour, threw himself headlong into a vast Chasm of the Earth, which happen'd in the City, to close it up, and Appease the Gods by such a Sacrifice, is an extraordinary Ornament in the same Book. In fine, we see in the First Part of his History, a rising Neatness, that makes large Advances to its Perfection, without doing any thing unlike it self. And that One thing well laid open, is of a singular Excellence.

The Second Decade, which is the constant Succession of that growing Glory, and of all its Progress, is entirely lost; which contain'd the Wars against *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, who broke into *Italy* to Succour the *Tarentines*; and all that happen'd in those Wars, concerning the Valour and Probity of the *Romans*: Amongst which was that high Principle of Honour, which appear'd in *Fabricius*, who Heading the *Roman* Army, in Quality of *Consul*, sent back to *Pyrrhus* his Physician, that made an Offer to the *Romans* of Poisoning his Prince, who had engag'd them in a bloody War, and was become their most terrible Enemy. Here was the first *Punick-War*, wherein *Attilius Regulus* so highly signaliz'd his Vertue, when, having been made Prisoner by the *Carthaginians*, he was dispatch'd to *Rome*, to treat of the Exchange of Prisoners of both Parties; and who out of an heroick, disinteress'd Principle, was the First that Advis'd them not to do it, because that Exchange must needs be Disadvantagious to the Commonwealth, though he himself might have enjoy'd his Life and Liberty as the Fruits of it. These are the principal Subjects of the Second Decade, as appears by *Frienshemius*'s his Supplement, who hits

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hits his Character exactly, and succeeds much better in making up the Loss of *Livy*, than he has done in the Supplement of the History of *Alexander* the Great, wrote by *Quintus Curtius*; as may be seen, if any one will give himself the trouble to compare them.

But *Livy*'s History takes another sort of Flight, in the Third Decade, which is come to us entire, with the Fourth, and half of the Fifth. The Scene grows more lively and animated, and more astonishing, through those mightier Movements, and more important Conjunctures: For now comes the second *Punick War*, and that Famous Expedition of *Hannibal*, marching from his Country, at the Head of an Hundred thousand Men, to make an Assault upon the *Romans*, even at *Rome* it self.

There is nothing in other Histories comparable to the Portraicture this Author makes of the March of this General; 'Tis all of a Force and Expression above the common Level: 'Tis the noblest Scene of the whole History, and the Consequences perfectly answer the Beginning; where the Historian, after having pictur'd *Hannibal*, and represented him more terrible, through his Vertues than his Vices, as taken up as he is with that mighty Object, he falls upon his Matter, that he may express the Particulars, and lose nothing at all of it; every Step he makes him take, in despight of Danger, as he passes the *Alps*, is terrible: All the Circumstances are dismal and ghastly, and the Picture of Danger is imprinted almost in every Word, and every Syllable. Thence he soars in the Expansion that his Subject gives him, which is so spacious, so copious, as to give him Scope for the following Books, and all

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all the Third Decade: For *Hannibal* is the leading Subject of it all. The most notorious Adventures of that War, are the Battel fought upon the Banks of the *Trasymenian* Lake in *Tuscany*, wherein there were above Fifty thousand *Romans* kill'd upon the spot, and the rest of the Army taken or routed: The Battel of *Cannæ* far more bloody than the former, in which were above Forty five thousand slain. Nothing in Nature is describ'd in so moving a Strain; the Terrour and Confusion *Hannibal* casts in the Face of *Rome*, by those bloody Victories, are expres'd in such a way, as never any other History could reach. There are such Draughts, and such Colours, as were unknown to all Historians besides. The Consequences of those two Battels were still more terrible, a general *Consternation* run through the Heart of *Italy*; the *Romans* were deserted by all their *Allies*; the People was alarm'd, and the whole Body of that great Republick, till that time Victorious, was in a violent Commotion, except the Nobility and Chief Men, whom *Scipio* caus'd to Swear, with a Dagger at their Throat, that neither any of them, nor the remaining Officers, should abandon the *Republick* in that present Conjuncture: and there was that Fierceness at *Rome*, after that last Defeat, that it was not lawful to make mention of a Peace with *Hannibal*. Their Minds were shaken, but not dejected; and 'twas the Resolution of the Great Men which inspirited the People, and re-establish'd Affairs.

Nulla ti-moris significatio, nulla mentio pacis. Off. l. 3.

The Wars of *Sicily* against *Hieron* and his Sons, that of *Numidia* against *Syphax*, were the Consequents of the Second *Punick War*. But in the Twenty-sixth Book, the Historian describes the new Impressions of Fear *Hannibal* caused

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caused in *Rome*, when he pitch'd his Camp before the City, and advanc'd as far as the *Porta Collina* near the Temple of *Hercules*, whence he took a Turn upon the Walls, to take the Model of it. But the Conqueror of *Rome* retreated on his own accord; and he whom the Vertue of his *Enemies* could not vanquish, was subdued by his own *Vices*, and the Pleasures of *Capua*, where he was for some time posted; and he was heard to say in his Retreat, that one while he only wanted an Inclination, and other times good Fortune, to make him Master of *Rome*. The Idea the Historian gives us in that Place of a *Veteran* General hardned to the Fatigues of War, and coming to soften himself in *Italy* in the Embraces, as one may say, of Pleasure, is very agreeable, and of an extraordinary Beauty. The Affairs of *Sicily* having oblig'd *Marcellus* to besiege *Syracuse*, *Archimedes* was there killed by Two blundering Soldiers, who took the *Diagram* of a Geometrical Demonstration, he was drawing upon the Sand, to be Conjuring; which is a singular and surprizing Incident in that place.

Potiundæ sibi urbis Romanæ modo mentem non dari, modo fortunam. Hist. Rom. lib. 28.

But after all, nothing is comparable to the Picture the Author gives us of young *Scipio*, in the End of the Twenty-sixth Book; where he represents him, Commission'd *General* of the *Roman* Army into *Spain*, to give a Diversion to the Progress of *Hannibal* in *Italy*. That Victorious Youth, at Twenty four Years of Age, was of a ripe and consummate Prudence: And though he perform'd Exploits of Arms, that astonish'd his Enemies; tho' in One Day he took New *Carthage*, in which the *Carthaginians* had a numerous Garrison, he yet obtain'd greater Victories by his Vertue than his Valour. For when he was presented with *Mandonius's* Lady, a Prince

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Prince of *Spain*, and Two of his Nieces, exceedingly beautiful, he sent them back with these Words, * *That though, for the sake of his own Integrity and the Publick Discipline of* Rome, *it lay upon him to secure from Violence whatever was Sacred: yet their own Consideration was still a greater Engagement to do them Justice, since in their Misfortunes they were not forgetful of themselves, nor of their Vertue*: And having shew'd the same Respect to another *Spanish Prince*, whose Princess was presented to him, of a more accomplish'd Beauty than the other, he sent her back to her Husband with a great Summ of Money offer'd for her Ransom. That *Prince* charm'd and amaz'd, with so great Bounty, proclaim'd in his Country, † There was arriv'd in *Spain*, a Young *Roman*, Qualify'd like the *Gods*, that carried on his Conquests as well by his Vertues as his Arms. Nothing can be finer; and the Image the *Historian* gives us of the Young *Victor*, produces an admirable Effect, through the Opposition he makes of his Vertue against *Hannibal*'s Vices. 'Tis only by his good Nature and Clemency that *Scipio* triumphs over the *Carthaginians*, whereas *Hannibal* triumphs over the *Romans* by Savageness and Violence. The one is plundering *Provinces* and battering *Towns*, whilst the other is winning the Hearts of the People, and captivating their Souls by his Beneficence and Goodness.

* *Meæ populique Romani disciplinæ causa facerem ne quid quod sanctum usquam esset, apud nos, violaretur: nunc ut id curem impensius, vestra quoque virtus & dignitas facit: quæ in malis quidem oblitæ decoris matronalis estis.* L. 26.

† *Venisse diis similliumum juvenem victorem omnia quum armis, tum benignitate ac beneficiis.* Ibid.

The last Books of this Decade contain the mighty Progress of *Scipio*'s Arms in *Africa*: *Hannibal* is recall'd to the Succour of *Carthage*, where he was defeated, *Carthage* taken, and *Scipio* triumphantly return'd from *Africa* to *Rome*. Thus the End of this Decade, by its Opposition to the Beginning, where *Hannibal* drives on his Victories uncontroul'd, is one of the

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the finest Places of the History; especially by the new Road the Young *Roman* takes to Glory; contributing more to the Conquests of the Republick, by setting in the Minds of the People the Reputation of the *Roman* Vertue, than by giving Battel: For that Reputation becoming the Admiration of the Conquer'd Nation, was more Victorious than their Arms.

After the Defeat of *Carthage*, the Glory of the *Roman* Name soar'd to a greater Height. The Victorious People, whose Renown was spread far and near, began to be look'd upon as the Deliverer of other Nations. Thus Gloriously it is represented by *Livy*, in the Fourth Decade. The *Athenians* oppress'd by *Philip* (the last of the Name) King of *Macedon*, implor'd the Assistance of the Senate. *Publius Sulpitius* was sent thither, who having subdued all *Greece*, proclaim'd Peace to all the People by his Lieutenant *Quintius*, and restor'd them their Liberty; and, in a Publick Assembly for the Celebration of this Festival, was heard that Saying, *That, at last, there was a People in the World, born for the Safety of all others, that cross'd Seas, made Wars at its own Cost and Peril, to revenge the Oppress'd, to establish Laws, causing them to be observ'd through the whole Earth, and to maintain the Publick Security.*

Essegentem in terris, quae sua impensa ac periculo bella gerat pro libertate aliorum maria trajiciat, ne quod toto orbe terrarum injustum imperium sit, ubique jus, fas, lex potentissima sint. Lib. 33.

The Historian afterward opens the Mystery how *Hannibal* became suspected by his Country-men, upon Advice that he entertain'd a constant Correspondence with King *Antiochus*, to oblige him to declare War against the *Romans*: That was it which this Great Man, banish'd

nish'd out of his Country, and as it were a Vagabond abroad, voted in that *King*'s Council; that if he would make War as he should do, with the *Romans*, he must attack them in their own *Territories*, and fight them at *Rome* as he himself had done: There is a Greatness of Soul, and a Loftiness of Thought in what the Historian makes him speak, and suiting with the Character of *Hannibal*: 'tis in the Thirty-fourth Book. There is something Rare and Uncommon, in point of Adventure, in the accidental meeting of this Commander and *Scipio*, who was made *Lieutenant* to his Brother, as it is related in the following Book. Undoubtedly it creates a very agreeable Surprize, as it needs must, to see two Great *Generals*, who had disputed the Empire of the World at the *Head* of two potent Armies, meeting by chance at *Ephesus*, and coldly giving their Opinion as two private Men, in a sedate, and unpassionate Discourse of the Preheminence of the Greatest Officers, who have made the most Noise in the World. In fine, *Hannibal*, suspected by his Citizens, and hated by all the World, is constrain'd to fly to *Ephesus*: His Flight contains several Adventures, which render that part of the History very Curious, as being of a Man of so great Importance, that every Step he makes is considerable.

But the Adventure of *Scipio*, accus'd before the People by *Q. Petilius* for having converted part of the Spoils of King *Antiochus* to his own Coffer, is more surprizing and remarkable thro' the Giddiness of Fortune, and the Injustice of the *Roman* People; and 'tis represented by the Historian with all the Dignity so strange an Adventure does require. That Man of incomparable Vertue as well as Valour, made his Ap-

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pearance at the Day prefix'd by his Accuſer. But inſtead of making his Defence to his Accuſation, preſumptuous upon his own Innocence, he ſpoke to the People aſſembled to condemn him, with a bold and undaunted Gallantry, and the Voice of a Conqueror: *Such was the Day wherein I took* Carthage, *beat* Hannibal, *and vanquiſh'd the* Carthaginians; *let us go to the Capitol, and thank the Gods.* The People ſurpriz'd at ſo magnanimous a Carriage, left the *Accuſer*, and followed *Scipio*: and that Day, ſays the Hiſtorian, was infinitely more Glorious to him, and advanc'd his Honour higher, in the Opinion of the People, than that wherein he triumphed over King *Syphax*, and the *Carthaginians*. Diſſatisfy'd however with that Treatment, which manifeſted ſo much Diſeſteem, he retreated to *Linternum*, a Country-ſeat of his towards *Capua*, where he dy'd ſometime after, in the Embraces of his Family, as a private Perſon. The Portraicture of *Cato*, delineated in the Thirty-ninth Book, on Occaſion of the Dignity of *Cenſor*, which he canvaſs'd with the *Scipio's*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Furius*, and other Perſons of Note in the Senate, is a Maſter-piece. 'Tis pleaſant to ſee how Reſembling it all is, upon the Notion a Man has of the Auſterity of Vertue in that Great Man: For that *Portraicture* is ſo ſingular, in all the *Features* that compoſe it, that whether it is *like* nothing, or whether it *reſembles* its *Original*, all is touch'd off with an admirable Air. That which the Hiſtorian brings him in ſpeaking againſt the Luxury of Women, in the Thirty-fourth Book, to put in Execution the *Oppian* Law, which regulated the Expence of Habits, and retrench'd the Prodigality therein; and againſt the Nocturnal Devotion, deſcrib'd

Celebratior is prope dies favore hominum, & eſtimatione vere magnitudinis ejus fuit, quam quo triumphans de Syphace & Carthaginenſibus urbem invectus. Lib. 38.

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ſcrib'd in the Thirty-ninth Book, wherewith they mixt all the Horrour of the moſt diſſolute Practices, and abominable Debauchery, in the World, has much of the Spirit of a rigid Cenſor of Manners. The Speeches he makes againſt the Diſorders, which the Wars of *Aſia* had brought into *Rome*, by infuſing Effeminacy, Licenciouſneſs, and a Proſtitution of Youth, which tended to its utter Ruine, bear the Stamp of a Sincere and Great Man, who contributed, with the Old Senators, to the Preſervation of that Wiſdom, Probity, Hatred of Injuſtice, Love of Equity, and Horror of Vice, which prevail'd in the Senate at that time: And all this has its Effect in the End of that Decade; where the Hiſtorian preſents us with the Spirit and Character of the Republick, then ſubſiſting. The Death of *Hannibal*, who had retir'd to *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, after the Defeat of *Antiochus*, (having Poiſoned himſelf, to avoid falling into the Hands of *Flaminius*) is very moving at the End of the Thirty-ninth Book: One is concern'd to ſee ſo Great a Man Dye in ſuch a manner; and that Particular prepar'd ſo finely, with ſuch remarkable Events, is of a ſingular Excellence.

But it muſt be acknowledg'd, that nothing is more pompous or magnificent than the Entrance of the Forty-third Book, where *Livy* ſets forth the Generality of the People of *Greece* and *Aſia*, after the ſubduing *Macedonia*, ſending their Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to implore the Protection of the *Senate*, and to ſubmit themſelves to the *Republick*. All that Part is deſcrib'd in that Triumphant Character, which uſually accompanies the happy Conquerours. The Hiſtorian himſelf there ſtrikes on ſuch a Key, as lets us know he is Apprehenſive of the good

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Fortune of his Country, and the Merit of his Subject. The Defeat of *Perseus* in the Forty-fourth Book, happening upon occasion of an Horse, that escap'd the Hands of his Servants, and was the Cause of the Battel, which the Two Armies, encamp'd upon the opposite Banks of a little River, would willingly have avoided, has something surprizing in it; and indeed nothing is finer in an History than great Events caus'd by trifling Accidents, as this, which is very Remarkable upon the Wonder it raises.

The Oration the Ambassadors of *Rhodes* make before the *Senate*, in the Forty-fifth Book, is fine, lofty and eloquent; nothing comes nearer the Discourses *Thucydides* attributes to the Deputies of *States* and *Commonwealths*, in his History of the *Peloponnesian* War: Nothing can be more fitly compar'd with him, in that very Kind in which his Excellence lay; nor is there any thing more like that manner of Speaking, he gives the Towns and States whose History he Writes. *Paulus Emilius's* Voyage through *Greece*, after he had Conquer'd it, his Visiting the Provinces to observe what was Remarkable for Antiquity, or for the Rarity and Excellence of the Work, is handsomely described in the Forty-fifth Book. Every Town has it peculiar Character, its Order and Distinction; and the Historian, by giving us a fine Notion of the *Country*, heightens the Victories and Advantages of his *own*.

All this receives an additional Greatness in the *remainder* of that History, after the Defeat of *Perseus*, which was the concluding Blow of that long and hazardous War of *Macedonia*; and the *Roman* Name was exalted to its highest Pitch

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Pitch of Glory. In effect, the Senate had scarce any other Employment, than the answering the Requests of *Kings*, and ordering their *Destinies*. 'Tis no longer the *Ambassadors* of Kings and Crowned Heads: Here are the Kings of *Syria* and *Ægypt*, of *Bithynia* and *Pergamus*; here is *Ptolomy* and his Sister *Cleopatra*, who make the *Senate* the Arbiter of their Difference; here's King *Massiniſſa* sending his Two Sons to *Rome*, to Congratulate the Republick, in his Name, for the Defeat of *Perſeus*: Here's *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, accompanying his Son *Nicomedes*, and presenting him to the *Republick*, to take him under its Protection: Here's *Perſes* fasten'd to *Emilius*'s Chariot, with his Two Sons, to render the Triumph of the Conquerour more Arrogant and Glorious; as had done *Gentius* King of *Illyricum*, with his Wife and Children, overcome by the Prætor *Anicius*. In fine, not to repeat what I have already obſerv'd, at the End of the Abridgment I have made of the Hiſtory in the Fifth Chapter, we may ſay there is nothing Comparable to the Idea *Livy* gives of the Grandeur and Glory of the Republick in thoſe Times: That never Hiſtory went upon ſo great a Subject; nor ever Hiſtorian ſupported the Dignity of the Matter with a greater Majeſty and Force of Expreſſion. That Picture the Author draws of *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, who takes Pride in being a Denizen of the *Roman* People, which he Treats, according to * *Polybius*, with the moſt proſtituted Flattery, is well worthy of him, and that Purity of Morals he ſo highly Profeſſes. Herewith he concludes the Forty-fifth Book; for the reſt of it is loſt.

* *Polybius eum regem indignum majeſtate nominis tanti tradit. Romæ quoq; cum venire in curiam ſummiſiſſe ſe, & oſculo limen curiæ contigiſſe, & Deos ſervatores ſuos Senatum appellaſſe, aliamque orationem non tam honorificam audientibus, quàm ſibi deformem habuiſſe.* Tit. Liv. 45. *ſub finem.*

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How Glorious would it be, should we have the Residue of the History which is lost, and the Description of those great Transactions of the following Times; I would say, the Particulars of *Scipio*'s Victories, the Adopted Son of *Paulus Emilius*, who subdued *Africa* to the *Romans*: Those Times wherein *Thebes*, *Chalcis*, *Corinth*, *Numantia*, were seen levell'd to the Ground, and following the Destiny of *Carthage*? Those Celebrated Wars against *Jugurtha* and *Mithridates*? Those terrible Seditions, that began to make Head in the Republick through *Cinna*, *Marius* and *Sylla*'s Abusing their *Power*, which the *Success* of their *Arms*, conspiring with that Degeneracy, Abundance and Luxury had infus'd into the Generality, and their own Fortune had given them?

What should we say, did there but remain in this mighty Work any Track of those great Expeditions of *Sertorius* into *Spain*, of *Marius* upon the *Cimbri* and *Teutons*, and of *Pompey* into *Asia*, of *Cæsar* amongst the *Gauls*, and in all the North? The mutual Jealousy of those Two Generals, which caus'd a Civil War? The Sequels of that War, so Fatal to the *Romans*, which went near the Destruction of *Rome*, by the Revolution of the Government? Finally, should we see in this Historian, those ghastly Representations of the *Republick*, ript open to her very Bowels, by the Hands of her own own Children? Of the Senate broken into Parties, of *Italy* in Distraction, and all the Universe almost in Disorder and Confusion? Should we see the Establishment of the Empire, the Death of *Cæsar*, stab'd by the Senate, the Triumvirate of *Octavius*, the Defeat of *Antony*, the Triumph of *Augustus*, and all the great Objects of those unfortunate Times, which

which doubtleſs made the fineſt part of *Livy*'s Hiſtory, as being the moſt memorable Events of the *Roman* Commonwealth: For why ſhould we not reckon up all the Beauties and excellent Works that came from his Hand, and and were only loſt through the Negligence, or perhaps Ignorance, and corrupt Palate of the ſucceeding Ages.

But I pretend not to have Remark'd all the Delicacies of this Author, I have only mention'd thoſe I my ſelf was moſt Affected with; a Man muſt go quite through with him, that would do the Hiſtorian Juſtice. And to ſpeak more freely upon the Point, he muſt fetch a vaſter compaſs, than the Bounds I have preſcrib'd my ſelf would admit. This may ſuffice for an Eſſay, to Judge of the reſt by, without being miſtaken.

CHAP. VIII.

The Deciſion of the Compariſon.

AND now having examin'd the Advantages and Diſadvantages of theſe Two Hiſtorians, their Perſons, their Genius, their Subjects, their Hiſtories, and the Faults and Excellencies of each, it may be determin'd which ought to have the Preference. But ſeeing they mutually Excel each other, in ſeveral Particulars, to hold the Balance even, and do them all the Juſtice that is poſſible; here is, in my Opinion, what we ought to think, and ſay of One and the Other. They are both Equally above that exact and ſcrupulous Niceneſs, which too Studiouſly affects a perfect Regularity; ſince they were only made for Great Things, and the Elevation of

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their *Genius*, would not permit them to stoop to so mean Regards. They had in the same degree of Perfection, an admirable Judgment in the Choice of their Thoughts, and in expressing them Nobly: They had an exquisite *Sense* for the natural Turn of Expression, which is the Effect of a mature Judgment; and they were skill'd in the Choice of Words, which enlivened the Expressions most, and were most proper to declare their Meaning; they were equally industrious to avoid flashy and glittering Words, and to stick to the more ordinary and significant: Both of them have more of a Figurative, than a proper Style, knowing that one made greater Impression than the other; but their Discretion in this Practice was equally admirable in both, being ever happy in the Images and Representations of their Thoughts, wherein we may always discover the Foot-steps and Tracks of Nature. Thus there has been but very few Authors, every way so Accomplish'd, as these two Historians; for there is nothing but is judiciously and happily Imagin'd in them both.

They have both a Sublimity, ever maintain'd with, and founded on Reason; a thing not known to other Historians. They both endeavour'd to copy Nature, and this they propos'd as their main End. They are just in their Comparisons, easie in their Figures, and happy in their Metaphors. *Livy* is *richer* in his Expression, is more Copious, and fuller of Variety, and has more of those *passionate* Strokes that affect the Mind. But *Thucydides* has Expressions more *strong*, Colours more *terrible*, and Strokes more *lively*, and seems to make more forcible Impressions on the Thoughts: He likewise gives more Action and Motion to his

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his Speech; and by incloſing a great deal of Senſe in a little room, he leaves more to the Imagination and Conjecture of his Reader. But *Livy* is ſure to pleaſe more, becauſe to the Force and Vehemence of Expreſſion, he adds all the Sweetneſſes and Graces of Art, he is as Florid and Agreeable as he pleaſes, by the Art he has of Tempering his Diſcourſe, with ſuch fine and delicate Airs; by giving it thoſe enchanting Turns; and by the Method he found out of joining to that Dignity, upon which he ever bottoms his Diſcourſe, all the Eaſineſs and Simplicity requiſite to make it Natural. Beſides that *Livy* has a greater abundance of Matter, and more Order and Variety in the Events he repreſents, there is moreover ſomething unaccountably *ſweet* and inſinuating in his Tranſitions, which renders him ſo ſmooth and eaſie, that in reading him, a Man is convey'd from one Subject to another, without being ſenſible of the Motion; ſo dextrouſly he orders his Matters, and threads his Diſcourſe. He marches, or makes a halt, advances, or takes breath, as his Occaſion or his Pleaſure is, and no Man is aware of it. The *Greek* is *great* in his Words, and *little* in his Events, which are generally inconſiderable. The *Roman* is *great* in both, and is very ſingular in the Art he has of drawing out at length extraordinary Events, in all their train of Circumſtances. For he poſtures them with Deſign, and collects them with Diſcretion, by avoiding all Superfluous Particulars; and herein it is he is generally ſo Alluring; for nothing engages a Reader more, than that choice of neceſſary Circumſtances, ſingled out from thoſe that are leſs uſeful.

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Nor are only his Idea's more noble, but also the Affairs he treats of, and the Adventures he describes, are of more weight and moment; and the Persons he introduces, are of a more exalted Character: For what can a Man find in *Thucydides* a Match for *Hannibal* and the *Scipio's*, for *Pompey* or *Cæsar*, and all those mighty Names the *Roman* History abounds with? Again, the Vertues which *Livy* proposes, present themselves in all their *formalities*, that is, in their *Beginnings* and their *Progress*; than which nothing can be more delightful in an History; which is neither so distinct, nor sufficiently observ'd in *Thucydides*. *Livy* has a more rich, a more embellish'd, and a more fruitful Imagination; he has more Fire and Liveliness in his Expression: His Project is greater, and the Contrivance of his Design more magnificent. That Majestick Strain of Talking, which is Natural to him; that Elegance he shews in little Subjects; all that admirable Art of Rhetorick, with an exquisite Choice of Words; and all those other Qualities, which distinguish him from the Rest of the World, give him a vast Advantage over *Thucydides*; who by a dry, unsavoury and austere way of Speaking, has nothing by way of Shew and Ostentation: Whereas the other knows how to manage all this to his use, and practise it according to the necessity of his Subject, without any appearance of Study or Affectation. And those favourable places of Eloquence, where one may play the Passions, and all those secret Engines, which move the Soul, are much frequenter in *Livy*, by reason of those great Concerns he is engag'd in, and which furnish his History.

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There seems too, to be in *Livy* more Purity, better Construction, greater Order and Regularity, throughout his Discourse: Which *Thucydides* troubled not his Head with; nay, in some measure, he affected to be *disorderly* in his Expressions: And indeed, he talks best of War, especially of the Sea, and Naval Expeditions, having made that his Exercise and Employment. But it must be confest, that *Livy* gives us a better Opinion of the *Romans*, than *Thucydides* of the *Greeks*; though at the same time they have both pursu'd the Truth of the History; and the *Greek Historian* is not to be blamed, if the *Portraitures* he copies, want that Beauty which the others have; for as much as he *makes* not the Characters, but *represents* them only. It must be own'd too that the *Athenian* People were more intractable, and headstrong than the *Romans*; because their Power was not poiz'd, with such Politick *Mediums*, as was that of *Rome*: And that which was *Haughtiness* in the *Greeks*, was true *Vertue* in the *Romans*, and a Nobleness of Soul. *Livy* too had a great Advantage over *Thucydides*, from the Nature of his Subject; which was not only more Fortunate, but more Stately also and Magnificent: For 'tis the Empire of the World, 'tis all the Universe he grasps into his History, whilst *Thucydides* is confined to a little Piece of a Continent, an inconsiderable Spot of Ground: But this may be said in his Commendation, that he has expreſt more Artifice in supporting the Meanness of his Subject; he has shewn a great deal of Dexterity, in improving so harsh and barren a Soil, into so rich, and, in some measure, fertile a *Capacity*; and herein consists the Greatness of his Merit, that he has rais'd so Disadvantagious a Subject, to so

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so high a Value as it bears. It is true, *Livy* takes Pleasure to open the growing Grandeur of the Republick by degrees, striking always at his Mark, which is his Country's Glory. *Thucydides* had scarce such Thoughts in his Head; he follows the beaten Road, without turning to the Right-hand or the Left.

Livy's Beginning bears more Proportion to the rest of his History; but however great was his Design, there is nothing haughty in the Proposition of it. *Thucydides*'s Entrance on a *particular* History, is too *universal*. It would have serv'd for an *Exordium* to a *General* History of all *Greece*, and have given us a compleat Notion of it.

After all, they are both of them mighty Artists, admirably skill'd in expressing the Passions in their proper Characters, and natural Colours. *Livy* has a softer, and a sweeter Hand; *Thucydides* has something strangely Serious and Grave in his way of Painting. The Morals of them both are uncorrupt, pure, exact and honest; they have great Principles of Vertue, admirable Maxims of the Publick Good, a noble Taste of Things, and are very experienc'd in Decency and good Breeding. To this may be added that they are Equals, and Rivals in the Love of Truth; they are Men of an untainted Honesty, of an inviolable Fidelity and Sincerity on all Occasions.

One might possibly, to push the Comparison as far as it will go, compare *Thucydides*'s Description, in the Beginning of the Eighth Book, of the Event, the News of the entire Rout of the *Athenians* by the *Syracusian* Army had, with the Effect the News of the Battel at *Cannæ* caus'd at *Rome*. The Picture *Livy* makes of the Consternation the People of *Rome* were in, after

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after that Defeat, is not so Circumstantiated as that of *Thucydides*, but it is more *greatly* Expres's'd. There appears not that Resolution in the *Athenians*, as in the People of *Rome*, supported by the *Senate*, and the *Grandees* of the *Republick*; and all well consider'd, the *Latine* Historian's Genius seems to have the Ascendant over the *Grecian's*.

After all, 'tis confes's'd, *Thucydides* is much exacter in his *Logick*, that he is more Elevated in his Reasonings, that he has a greater Principle, and nobler Thoughts, in several places, than *Livy*, and that he makes greater Impressions on the Soul; but the other is always more agreeable and moving; the one gives his Colours Strength, the other Charms and Liveliness. What masterly Strokes, what bold Expressions are in the former, what Variety in the latter? *Thucydides* chuses rather to be Solid than Polite; *Livy* has found the Method of being Solid and Polite together; and of joyning all the Elegance and Fineness of Words, with the Solidness of Things: The one is great on no other Bottom than himself; the other is so, through the Nature of his Subject, and his manner of treating it. The one has nothing but Strength and Vigour; the other has the Art of Tempering that Masculine Vigour with the softest Charms, such a Work as his is capable of.

Finally, to draw to a Conclusion, *Livy* has been incomparably happier in his *Choice*, in his *Project*, in the *Performance* and *Success* of his Work; which leads the Reader step by step, from contemptible *Beginnings*, through extraordinary, and sometimes miraculous *Events*, to a glorious *End*; that represents the *Roman* People, risen from a *base* and *scandalous* Extraction, to

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to such a Pinacle of Glory, as never People yet arriv'd to: This History displays all the Motions and Progress of that Glory, through its Obstacles and Oppositions, which make it appear the Brighter; and it displays that growing Greatness, conducted to its highest Pitch and Elevation, through all the several Degrees of its Perfection. This is the thing wherein it is so Admirable: For nothing is so Charming and Delightful, as to see the Representation of the Beginnings and *Birth* of things, gradually *increasing*, and a great Design methodically *accomplish'd*, and brought to its Perfection: In which point, *Thucydides*'s History is nothing comparable: The *Peloponnesian* War, which is the principal Design, aims at nothing but the Weakning the two States that strove for the Empire of *Greece*. The Succession of that War has nothing of Connexion or Coherence; it is interrupted by a multitude of Occurrences that have no Analogy to the End of it; and that End is neither happy for the one nor the other: Thus it leaves the Reader's Mind discontented, at least very little satisfy'd with a Story, whereof it retains no Idea, but of *Battels* and *Orations*.

But if so, then the *Comparison* of these *two Authors* is very *unequal*, and *Livy* has much the better of *Thucydides*; which yet I cannot absolutely agree too, if a Man considers them by themselves, and in their Personal Merit: I add too, that probably *Thucydides* had excell'd *Livy*, had he been equally happy in the Choice of a Subject: For he is not at all Inferior to him, in the natural Solidity of good Sense; in that Exactness, or rather Severity of Reason that accompanies all he says: I question too, whether *Livy* argues always in the Justness of *Thucydides*;

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cydides; 'tis true, he has always a Nobleneſs of Expreſſion in his Narration; but 'tis to be doubted, whether he has all that Simplicity, which ſhould go into the Character of a perfect Hiſtorian.

Thus then, to *decide* the *Controverſie* and preciſely to declare the *Preference*, it is requiſite we return to the Stating the eſſential Character of an Hiſtorian, and determine whether *Truth* is all that is requir'd in him; whether it is enough meerly to recommend *Truth* to our *Underſtanding*, and not endear it to our *Affections*, by his manner of ſpeaking and deſcribing it; for Simplicity is all that's requir'd to a Diſcourſe, to diſcover the Truth of it: But to make the Reader in love with it, when preſented to him, there muſt be a great deal more; there muſt be *Purity* of *Language*, *Nobleneſs* of *Expreſſion*, *Laſtineſs* of *Thought*, and much *Variety* in his *Narration*: It ought to be known, whether *Truth* is not *charming* and attractive enough, through its own *native Brightneſs*, and *naked Simplicity*, without the aſſiſtance of *Paint* and *Artifice*; and whether ſhe is not ſpoil'd of her natural Ornaments, and ſuch as really become her, by that cuſtomary Waſh and Dreſs they beſtow on her. For if ſo, then *Thucydides*, who has the moſt Plainneſs and Simplicity, is to be preferr'd before *Livy*: And, on the contrary, if Truth ought to become Agreeable and Lovely, by the Charms and Beauty of Diſcourſe, *Livy* muſt be awarded the Precedence. Here is ſomething to exerciſe nice and curious Wits, to whoſe Sentence I refer my own, being not confident and *bold* enough my ſelf, to paſs the *Verdict*.

FINIS.

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A COMPARISON BETWEEN *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*: WITH THE Opinions of the FATHERS upon Their Doctrine.

The PREFACE.

NEVER *was there ſuch an Itch in Men after Philoſophy, as there is now a-days, and never were there fewer true Philoſophers. They imagine, forſooth, that a chance Hit in Chymiſtry, or the Knowledge of ſome Figures in Geometry, qualifies a Man for a Philoſopher, and entitles Him to diſpute it with* Plato *or* Ariſtotle. *But They are groſly miſtaken; true Philoſophy is ſomething more noble; 'tis neither the Smoak of an Alembick, nor the Windings of a Pair of Compaſſes, that can form a Philoſopher. The Experience of Chymiſtry in its Forms*

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may indeed reach to a Physical Certainty, but can never come up to a Demonstration; and the most accomplish'd Geometrician, as Ammonius *observes, can never pretend to much Wisdom without being a Metaphysician. True Philosophy then not being to be attain'd but by the Knowledge of other Arts and Sciences, there will be requisite hereunto a solid Judgment, Depth of Thought, great Study, and much Labour, with suitable Degrees of Learning, and a thorough Insight into all the Parts of Antiquity. I am, in this Matter, of* Plato's *Opinion, I call a Firmness of Mind, Constancy, Fidelity, and good sound Sense, true Philosophy, which is indeed nothing else than to be a Man of true Reason and true Vertue; nor does this Secret consist in those subtil Refinements of Logick, those new Delicacies of Morality; nor in those ridiculous Whims in Physicks, which are now so much alamode. This new Northern Philosophy, so much now in vogue, appears to me very false, in that, by releasing the Mind, and freeing it from all Fatigue and Labour, it neglects and contemns those necessary Preparations to sound Reasoning and deep Speculation, confining and limiting it self to dry unprofitable Operations, which have nothing solid and substantial in them, because not supported and maintain'd by Reason. Nothing can be more Fantastical than to pretend to reduce the general Extent of this Science within the Compass of a few Experiments and Destillation; and by those three Principles of* Salt, Sulphur, *and* Mercury, *so foolishly to search for that Universal Spirit, which is utterly Chimerical. 'Tis these new Philosophers, these superficial, half-witted People, that appear thus against the ancient Philosophy, and endeavour to cry it down, in order to establish a modern System prejudicial to good Morality and destructive of Religion. This is what ought to engage all those that are well affected to the ancient Philosophy, to show themselves*

Ammon. *in* Porphyr. *Multis Artibus opus est, ut ad Philosophiam accedi possit.* Lact. l. 2. c. 25. Inst. Τὸ δὲ βέβαιον καὶ πιστὸν καὶ ὑγιὲς τοῦτο ἐγὼ φημὶ εἶδ τὴν ἀληθινὴν σοφίαν. Plat. Epist. ad Arist.

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zealous in its Defence, which St. Thomas so highly commends, and which was of signal Advantage to Him in the explaining the Mysteries of our Faith, and which was never found to be false, but in the false Use that has been made of it.

Siquid in Dictis Philosophorum inveniatur repugnans Fidei, illud non est à Philosophiâ desumptum, sed ex Ejus abusu procedere potest per Rationis Defectum: nam Verum alteri Vero nullo pacto repugnare potest. St. Thom. in Comment. ad Lib. Trin. q. 2. Art. 3.

This was the principal Reason that prevail'd on me to write of the Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle; not out of any Design to inspire into the Men of our Age a vain Spirit of Curiosity, but to teach those that are truly faithful, the Use which ought to be made of Philosophy in order to render it serviceable to our Religion; and to convince them that the Knowledge of the Ancients and good Learning, shou'd be the common and ordinary Weapons for a Christian to defeat Error and Imposture with. For this Reason * Tertullian heretofore exhorted the Christians of his Time to furnish themselves with Philosophy, for the better opposing the Hereticks that fetch'd their Arguments from it; and the Emperor † Julian forbad the Study of Learning and Philosophy, because he fear'd the Truth. Upon the same Account || St. Basil compos'd a Homily to engage the Christians to study Heathen Books, in order to profit by their Lights, after the Example of Moses and Daniel; and * St. Cyril against Julian, and † Theodoret in his History, and many others of the Fathers have done the same. This is what I principally design'd in this Work, which I am perswaded may be of some Use, considering the Circumstances of the Times we live in. Others perhaps may be of the same Opinion, if, without suffering themselves to be blinded by the Calmness and Prosperity our Religion at present enjoys in the most flourishing Condition, they will but reflect upon that pernicious

* Philosophari nos provocant Hæretici. Tertul. lib. de resur.

† Arnob. l. 1. contra gentes.

|| Basil. in Homil.

* Cyril. in Proleg. contra Julian.

† Theod. l. 6. c. 17. Hist. Melchior. Can. loc. X.

and

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and destructive Itch of Curiosity that has spread it self over Germany, *and upon that new Spirit of Philosophy, which rages throughout the whole* North, *and directly tends to downright Libertinism. I wou'd not be hereby thought to reprehend the commendable Labours which many learned Men, both in* England *and* France, *have bestow'd in the Study of Natural Philosophy, nor to find the least Fault with that Application and Industry they have us'd daily to enrich with new Experiments so necessary a Science: But this I engage to maintain, that true Philosophy can never hope to flourish, unless supported by profound Learning, and a perfect Knowledge of Antiquity. And in this I appeal to what has been formerly said by* Plutarch, *that upon the Knowledge of Natural Philosophy only, 'tis Presumption to attempt to decide any thing; and that being skill'd in Logick alone, begets a Spirit of Contradiction, it creates a wrangling litigious Temper, and disposes a Man to continual Disputes. To attain to Philosophy, we must begin with Logick; and none can understand Logick well, but he that is first an excellent Metaphysician. These several Parts of Philosophy do so mutually aid and assist each other, that 'tis impossible to separate them without endangering the Whole.*

This is what may be learn'd from this Work; at least from hence it may be plainly seen by what Degrees Plato *and* Aristotle *became such great Philosophers. I have begun with the History of their Persons, without disguising the least Circumstance of their Lives, the better to represent them in their own proper Conditions. I have explain'd their Method in the Second Part, to shew how we ought to study them; and in the Third I have display'd their Doctrine, not in all the Particulars of it, which neither our Language can express, nor the nice Palates of this present Age relish; but only in its Principles, in*

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which I have endeavour'd to contract my self, that I might not become disagreeable by too dry a Discussion, as a Treatise of this Nature might possibly be, were it too exact. I proceed to explain in the Fourth Part the Opinions of the Fathers upon the Doctrine of these two Philosophers, to teach the World what Judgment, and what Use ought to be made of them from that of the Primitive Christians. I conclude this Work with some Christian Reflections, that it may be profitable to those that shall read it. And, that none may reproach me for the Purity of my Intentions, I declare that I condemn no Opinions but such as are dissonant to Religion.

As the Romans *had no Philosopher of Merit amongst them comparable to* Aristotle, *I found my self oblig'd to draw the Comparison between two* Greeks, *in order to make a just Opposition; and so to quit my General Design of comparing the* Greeks *with the* Romans, *which I had at first propos'd, to let the World see that the* Romans *surpass'd the* Greeks *as far in Matters of Learning, as they did in the Power and Success of their Arms, except only in Philosophy, and in that Point* Rome *must give the Preference to* Athens.

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A COMPARISON BETWEEN *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, &c.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

The Propoſition of the Deſign.

THE Deſign of Drawing a Compariſon between *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*; is what admits of ſo much Difficulty, that ſome may poſſibly think it a Raſh and Bold Undertaking. For in the Proſecution thereof, I ſhall be oblig'd not only to paſs a Judgment upon Two of the Wiſeſt Men amongſt the Ancients, but likewiſe to determine whether the ſeveral Opinions of thoſe Authors who have ſpoke of them, are well or ill grounded; and whether the different Palates of every Age have truly reliſh'd their Doctrines, or not? So that to what Side ſoever I incline, I ſhall unavoidably expoſe my ſelf in Forming a Judgment contrary to that of ſo many Great Men; which will undoubtedly require more Labour and Trouble than I at firſt

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propos'd. But when I do but consider what a Crowd of Commentators have for these two Thousand Years fill'd our Libraries with an infinite number of Volumes, I cannot be perswaded that I am able to add any thing to what they have already writ; and therefore shall content my self barely to give an Impartial Account: 1. Of the Merit of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, and whatever relates to their Persons. 2. Of their Method. 3. Of their Doctrine. And lastly, Of the various Opinions the Learned have entertain'd of their Works; and the different Esteem their Sects have met with in every Age.

It may be said indeed, that thus to Treat of Ancient Philosophy and Philosophers, is not according to the Humour of the Times, in which Novelty so much prevails, and New Theories are only in Vogue; nor according to the Taste of the Wits of the Present Age, who are all for Schemes of Philosophy of their own drawing, for Hypotheses after their own Fashion: For never certainly were there before seen, so many Maxims of Morality, so many Methods of Logick, and Systems of Physicks. But notwithstanding all this, there are still left some Persons of such Free and Generous Spirits, as not to be Bias'd by these Common Prejudices; who have no Disgust of Antiquity, but acknowledge the Truth, under whatsoever Colours It appear.

It is no small Difficulty, in a Design of this Importance, to know how exactly to distinguish the Interests of our Religion, from the Maxims of the Sects that bear the Names of these Two Great Men; and to examine into the Good or Ill Use the Primitive Christians made of the Prophane Reasonings of *Philosophy*;

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and at the ſame time to preſerve entire and inviolable, that Veneration which is due to thoſe Fathers of the Church, who borrow'd their Arguments from Paganiſm, to uphold Chriſtianity, and to ſupport the Articles of our Faith. For to ſucceed in an Attempt of this Nature, it will be requiſite, that we have firſt a compleat, perfect and profound Knowledge of their Doctrines. And this will oblige me to enter upon this Diſcuſſion with the greateſt Circumſpection, and to advance no farther in ſo nice a Point, than I ſhall think neceſſary for the clearing of my Subject.

To Write with any Agreeableneſs, on a Matter ſo dry and barren as *Philoſophy*, may be another Difficulty, conſidering the delicate Taſte the Men of this Age have, even to Exceſs. It is in vain for an Author to pretend to make his Works acceptable, by the Importance of the Things he Treats about, unleſs he affect the Reader with ſome Additional Pleaſure. But I am ſenſible, that I neither can, nor indeed ought to Study the Beauties of Language, upon a Subject ſo Grave, which will of it ſelf afford another ſort of Pleaſure, perhaps not leſs entertaining. For it cannot but be very delightful, to ſee how large a Progreſs Humane Reaſon can make, when only guided by her own Light. No Perſon certainly ever carried it ſo high as *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*; and yet was their Sight ſo dim upon ſeveral Proſpects, that the Errors into which they are fal'n, for want of the Light of Faith, are alone ſufficient to abate the Pride of Man. And this at leaſt may be one Advantage to be gather'd from this Diſcourſe. I hope alſo, that what I ſhall ſay of the Doctrine of theſe Two Philoſophers, will not prove altogether uſeleſs

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and unprofitable, to those who are too much prepossess'd with the Fancy of New Opinions. But before I speak any thing of the Personal Merit of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, 'twill be proper to search a little into the Rise and Progress of *Philosophy*, and consider the State and Condition it was in, when these Two Great Men first appear'd in the World.

CHAP. II.

Of the Birth of PHILOSOPHY, *and of its State and Condition before* Plato *and* Aristotle.

THE *Philosophy* which I intend to speak of, is not that which now-a-days makes so much Noise in the World with its Disputes, which are mingled with unnecessary Heat and Passion. The Wisdom which *Aristotle* and *Plato* admir'd, avoided all Contests, and fix'd it self solely upon the Truth. The Universal Principles, upon which It form'd Its Precepts, was good Sense, which serv'd as a Guide to Govern and Direct the Outward, and Instruct the Inward Man: It alone trac'd Things up to their proper Fountains; It taught Reason to be subject to certain Rules, by which it might confirm and strengthen itself against all Doubt, Error and Opinion, and continue constant, and unshaken in its Notions of Things, and calm that Natural Inquietude that so incessantly torments the Mind. And in fine, it bent itself wholly to render Man Happy, by discovering

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to him the Principles of Things, and shewing him how they did Originally Exist. So that of all Sciences this is the most Noble, the most Profitable, and the most Advantagious to Mankind. *Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.* Virg. l. 1. *Georg.*

Though the Original of this *Philosophy* be obscure, and we have no certain Account of its Birth and Nativity, yet all are agreed that the *Greeks* were the first *Philosophers* in the World. Not but that other Nations, which were before them, had a Knowledge of some Parts of *Philosophy*, which, according to the Nature and Situation of their Country, Necessity, the first Mistress of all Sciences, had instructed them in as their several Occasions requir'd. Thus the **Ægyptians* began to observe the Ebbs and Flows of the *Nile*, and to Prognosticate every Year the Fruitfulness or Barrenness of their Land. And, to make a more equal Dividend of their Harvests, between those Persons who had Cultivated the Ground, they Invented the first Principles of Geometry. And as that Nation was very much given up to Superstition, their Priests took the Advantage of their Weakness, and compos'd a Religion of a sort of Theology, confounded with Variety of Mysteries; of which, their Figures and Hieroglyphicks give us but a gross *Idea*.

**Per figuras Animalium Ægyptii sensa mentis effinxerunt, ut antiquissima memoriæ humanæ monimenta saxis impressa cernuntur.* Cor. Tac.

The *Assyrians*, who liv'd in a large open champaign Country, having nothing to hinder them from contemplating the Stars, were the first that observ'd their Motions. And the ** Chaldeans*, who were, among these People, a sort of Philosophers, turn'd this Speculation into an Art of Foretelling things to come. In

** Chaldæi cognitione astrorum, solertiaque ingeniorum antecellunt.* Cic. *de Divinat. lib.* 1.

fine,

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Phœnices, qui mari præpellebant, intulisse Græciæ, memorant quæ ab Ægyptis accepêre. Cor. Tac. *Quâ fidunt duce nocturna Phœnices in alto.* Arat. *apud* Tull.

fine, the *Phenicians*, who were near the Sea, drew another considerable Advantage from this Knowledge of the Stars; by observing those more particularly, whose Courses might be of use to them in Navigation: In which they succeeded so well, that they were the first that found out, that there was a fix'd Point towrds the Pole, by which Pilots might securely Steer.

All these People were acquainted with these things only from Experience and Observation, having not yet reduc'd the Knowledge they had acquir'd into any Precepts. 'Tis pretended, *Mercurius Trismegistus*, and *Orpheus* the Philosopher, of which the first was an *Egyptian*, the second a *Thracian*, were the first that began to establish any Rule in the Sciences; but *Orpheus*, according to *Origen*, is very false; and the pretended Work of *Trismegistus* is look'd upon by the Wise Men of later Ages, as supposititious. That likwise which is said of *Zoroastres*, King of the *Bactrians*, and *Vulcan* the Son of King *Nilus*, whom *Sotion* mentions in *Laertius*; that they were more ancient than *Orpheus* and *Trismegistus*, appears to me so Fabulous, that I can say nothing to it. As for the *Jews*, who were without dispute the first Wise Men, being the first People in the World; they, 'tis plain, confin'd themselves wholly to the Study of their Religion, without the least Application to Philosophy. It is true indeed, the Holy Scripture informs us, that **Solomon* was a great Naturalist; and that he had the most perfect Knowledge of Plants and Animals, but it tells us not of any thing that he left behind him in Writing concerning this Knowledge.

Laert. *l.* 1. *c.* 1.

Orig. *contr.* Cels.

Laert. *l.* 1. *c.* 1.

*Solomon *disputavit super lignis, à cedro quæ est in Libano, usque ad hyssopum; & disseruit de jumentis & volucribus, & reptilibus & piscibus.* Reg. *c.* 4. *l.* 3.

The Original therefore of Philosophy ought not to be taken higher, than the Time of

Thales

Thales and *Pythagoras*, who began to make a publick and open Profession of it. *Thales* was a *Phenician*, but dwelling at *Miletum*, the Capital City of *Ionia*, was call'd the *Milesian*: 'Tis believ'd, that he deriv'd from the *Ægyptians* his Elements of Geometry and Astronomy. St. *Austin* assures us, that he took the Principles of his Philosophy from the Works of *Homer*. He was the first that observ'd the Solstices and Equinoxes, and that discover'd to the *Phenicians* the Revolution of the little Bear about the Pole. He Taught, that Water was the first Principle of all things, and that Humidity was the universal Cause of Generation; he was call'd, the first Wise Man amongst the *Greeks*. Those others, to whom the People soon after gave that Title, left behind them some Reflections upon Morality, of which *Laertius* has made a small Collection, but without the least Order or Connexion. *Pherecydes*, who was a *Syrian*, was the first that Writ concerning the universal Principle of Nature: *Pythagoras* was his Scholar, and *Thales* was made Heir to his Writings, which *Pherecydes* sent him just before he died.

Solis accessum dissessumque brumis solstitiisque fori docuit. Lib. de Nat. Deor. *Thales ex aquâ dixit constare omnia.* Cic. in Lucul.

Anaximander, who studied under *Thales*, enrich'd himself with new Observations, such as his Master had already made; he distinguish'd the four Elements, he plac'd the Earth in the Centre of the Universe, and by this Situation was the First that made up a System of the World. His Knowledge likewise extended so far as to make a Computation of the Bigness of the Sun and Moon, and to measure the true Distance between the Earth and those two great Luminaries. So, that by this distinct Knowledge of the Nature of things which he first taught, he merited among the *Greeks* the Title

Laer. 2. Theon. Smyrn. in Hist. Astr.

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Title of the Founder of Philosophy. *Pythagoras*, arriv'd to the same Glory in *Italy*; and we cannot but own that, in this first Age which pass'd between *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and which was truly the Age of the Birth of Philosophy; this Science made a greater Progress in *Italy* than in *Greece*, because the *Pythagoreans* search'd farther into the Reasons of Natural things, their Method, or rather their Temper and Constitution being more proper for such deep Enquiries.

Ex Laer. lib. 8. Cic. 5. Tusc. Apul. 1. Flor. A. Gellius. l. 1. c. 9. Porphyr. in vit. Pythag.

Pythagoras was of *Samos*, he begun his Study under a certain Grammarian call'd *Hermodamas*. This Master, inspir'd him with a very strong desire to advance and improve the Sciences; but by Reason that the Tyrant *Polycrates*, who then reign'd at *Samos*, had rais'd a Persecution against the Men of Learning, *Pythagoras* was forc'd to fly his Country; and having stay'd some time in *Lesbos*, where he studied under *Pherecydes*, he came at last and settled in *Italy*, in the City of *Crotona* near *Tarentum*; which Retreat was so agreeable to him, that after his return out of *Ægypt*, he spent the residue of his Life there. He was a Man of great Parts, of a very venerable Air; his Gravity gain'd him Respect, and by that Natural Austerity which was in him: He easily persuaded his Scholars to Frugality, which he recommended to them above all things. He had got such an Authority and Command over them, that his Advice was look'd upon as a Rule which they ought to subscribe to, and when he had decided any thing, it admitted of no more dispute. So that his Reputation and Character was soon spread abroad, and pass'd from *Crotona* to *Tarentum*, and from *Tarentum* into *Lucania* and *Etruria*, and from thence to *Rome* in the Reign of *Tarquinius* the First. He

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He had learn'd from *Pherecydes* and the *Ægyptians*, that the Soul was Immortal; but as this first Knowledge was but confus'd and intricate, he was at a great trouble to conceive how the Soul cou'd exsist after its Separation from the Body. So that he chose rather to believe that it pass'd into the Bodies of other Animals, than to persuade himself that it cou'd have any exsistence in a State distinct and independent of all Matter. This Reason, in Conjunction with some others, put him upon establishing that Opinion of the *Metempsychosis*, or Transmigration of Souls, and upon introducing that Custom of not eating Flesh, and of not using it in their Sacrifices. He contracted a great Correspondence with the *Jews* in those Voyages he made into *Ægypt*. *Josephus* assures us, that he had a *Jew* for his Master. *Theodoret* says, That he was Circumcis'd; and *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us, but without any grounds, that in the Opinion of some Wise Men in his time, he pass'd for the Prophet *Ezekiel*. Without dispute he had some communication and intercourse with the Book of *Genesis*, and had read over those other Books of *Moses*; and 'twas undoubtedly from reading this sacred Historian, that he took the *Idea* of those symbolical and figurative Expressions, which he made use of to set off his Philosophy. For he was persuaded according to the Opinion of the *Ægyptians*, that to expose the Truth naked to the View of the People was to profane it. Numbers were the common and ordinary Symbols, by which he express'd his Opinions, and that mysterious Signification which he put upon them, made his Doctrine appear more profound than it really was. He made Numbers the necessary Ingredients in all he thought, and all

Pherecydes Syrus primus dixit animos hominum esse sempiternos, Cic. 1. Tusc.

Joseph. con. Apion. Theod. l. de fid. Clem. Alex. strom. lib. 31. Corn. a lap. in Præfat. in Ezech.

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all he said, so that he establish'd this as the fundamental Maxim of his Philosophy, *viz.* that Unity was the Principle of the Generation of all things, and Plurality of the Corruption. He held likewise, that Man was not Form'd but by the Agreement of certain Numbers; that his Vertue and Health was nothing but pure Harmony, and that his Diseases might be cur'd by the conformity of certain Sounds with the degrees of each Distemper. In short, his Mind was so full with this conceit of Numbers and Harmony, that he invented Notes and a certain Measure in Musick from the repeated Strokes of a Hammer upon an Anvil; and there is nothing more remarkable in all the ancient Philosophy, than *Pythagoras* his Harmony of the Spheres.

His Scholars were not permitted to talk of these Mysteries, till after five Years continual silence. He was the first that Taught the Principles of *Physicks*, which is the true Natural Philosophy. He discover'd the Qualities of each Element, the Figure of their Bodies, the Rotundity of the Earth, and the *Antipodes*; he distinguish'd the Seasons, and observ'd the difference between the diurnal and annual Course of the Sun, and how the Moon borrow'd her Light from the Sun, that fountain of Heat. But this wise Man had so involv'd himself in the meditation of these new Sciences, that he left nothing behind him in writing, yet this was no hindrance to his School, which was the most Flourishing that ever was in the World, both before and after his death. The most Celebrated of his Scholars were *Ocellus* of *Lucania*, *Timæus* of *Locris*, *Arcytas* of *Tarentum*, *Philolaus* of *Crotona*, *Parmenides* and *Zenon* of *Eleates*, and *Melissus* of *Samos*. These Learned Men

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Men took the pains to digeſt their Maſter's Precepts into a Method, and commit them to writing, of which they compos'd a Body of Philoſophy, of which we have nothing now left but a few ſcatter'd Fragments.

It is true, that *Anaximenes*, *Anaxagoras*, *Xenophanes*, *Heraclitus*, *Archelaus*, and *Democritus*, who ſucceeded *Anaximander* in *Greece*, applied themſelves very induſtriouſly to the Study of Nature. *Anaxagoras* Taught, that the firſt Principle of all things was Matter uncreated. *Anaximenes* believ'd that 'twas Air, becauſe the firſt Principle ought to be pure and uncompounded. *Heraclitus* affirm'd that 'twas Fire, and *Democritus* was of Opinion that 'twas Atomes. Thus the Philoſophers of theſe two Sects, which were the Firſt in the World, equally gave themſelves up to the Study of whatever was moſt ſecret and moſt obſcure in Nature. In which, as I have before obſerv'd, the Sect of *Pythagoras* made a greater Progreſs than that of *Thales* and *Anaximander*; for *Ocellus*, *Archytas* and *Zenon* Form'd the Principles of Logick. *Zenon* compos'd three Books, in which he diſtinguiſh'd the †Orations of the Mind and Intellects; *Archytas* diſpos'd the Order of the *Categories*, and *Ocellus* invented the Method of Definitions. *Timæus*, *Parmenides*, *Philolaus* and *Meliſſus* apply'd themſelves to Natural Philoſophy, of which they invented the Principles.

† Operations

But after all, *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, and their Scholars, apply'd themſelves only to the knowledge of things Natural. Their Study was limited and confin'd; for it extended no farther than to obſerve the Courſe of the Stars, the Qualities of the Elements, and the Rules of Logick, Geometry, Muſick, and Phyſick; and

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and though they had compos'd a sort of Religion in the Honour of their Gods, yet they had not given any Precepts for the Regulation of Manners, the Glory of which was reserv'd for *Socrates*. This Part of Philosophy, the most important of all, was not known before that excellent Philosopher appear'd in the World; nor will it be improper in this place to observe by what Steps he arriv'd to it, and by what Degrees he rose to that Height of Honour, as to be styl'd by the Oracle at *Delphos*, the Wisest of Men.

Ex Aristoph. Plat. Xenoph. Cic. Ælian Laer. Gell. *& aliis.*

Aquo omnisquæ est devitâ & moribus Philosophia manavit. 3 Tuscul.

ἐδόκει συμποιεῖν Εὐριείδῃ. Laër. l. 2. de Socrat.

Socrates was born in a Village of *Attica*, of Parents not inconsiderable; he had *a Genius* proper to all Sciences, and succeeded wonderfully in all; but more peculiarly adapted to Eloquence; for there was no Cause so bad, but he cou'd set it off with so fair a Gloss as to make it appear good, which oblig'd the Governours of the Republick to forbid him teaching Rhetorick. He no less excell'd in Poetry; for as 'tis thought that *Lelius* and *Scipio* had their Shares in making the Comedies of *Terence*, so 'tis believ'd that *Socrates* had his in the Tragedies of *Euripides*. The manner of the Philosophers in his time was, to travel up and down, to learn in several what they cou'd not acquire in one Country alone. But *Socrates* lov'd Repose and Meditation, and thought that there was a great deal of Time spent in travelling abroad, which might be employ'd to better Advantage at home; however, in Compliment to his Master *Archelaus*, he went with him to *Samos* to bear him Company, and to *Delphos* to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*.

He

He never propos'd his Opinions, but as ſo many Doubts and Scruples; yet he clear'd them by Compariſons ſo familiar, that he made the Truth ſo plain and evident, that it became as it were the very Object of our Senſes, and yet left to every one the Pleaſure of Conviction, himſelf at the ſame time not ſeeming to think upon it. For this Reaſon he cou'd not bear with the Doctrine of *Heraclitus*. He ſaid that that Philoſopher decided too much, and that his manner of teaching was dry, obſcure, and unpleaſant. *Socrates* his Method was the very Reverſe; he never diſputed, never denied, never aſſented to any thing openly; and, under this Uncertainty, he always ſhow'd a ſubmiſſive tractable Temper, covering the Force and Vigour of his own Abilities under the Diſguiſe of an apparent Simplicity and an unaffected Plainneſs, and concealing with Pleaſure and Delight his own Parts and Ingenuity, that he might diſcover to the World thoſe of other Men. When he ſaw any one perverſe and obſtinate in his Temper, he always ſided with him, and made uſe of his Reaſons, that he might diſpoſe him the more readily to hearken to his own, and ſuffer himſelf to be perſuaded. Though he was the wiſeſt Man of his Age, yet he dreaded nothing more than to paſs for a wiſe Man. *Plutarch* ſays, that he made Profeſſion of knowing nothing, and affected ſometimes a pretended Ignorance; ſo that ſeeming in all appearance willing to be taught himſelf, he inſenſibly engag'd all thoſe that heard him to ſubmit to his Inſtructions. But to come nearer his Character; he commonly begun his Entertainments with flattering and cajoling Diſcourſes, with the intricate Windings and Turnings of affected Queſtions without any

Plut. in Apolog. Socrat.

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Socrates percontando interrogandoq; elicere solebat eorum opiniones quibuscum disserebat. Cic. de Fin.

Drift or Design, always asking Advice of others before he gave his own; and when he had once oblig'd those with whom he discours'd to declare their Sentiments, he drew Consequences from them to his own Advantage; and led them on by Degrees from one Absurdity to another till they perceiv'd their Error, and then he show'd them the Path they shou'd tread in, and what Methods they shou'd take for the Discovery of the Truth.

Rhetorum omnium exagitator Socrates. Cic. Orat.

His Conversation was always very agreeable; for he had a wonderful Art in disguising things, and diverting People with their own Faults; upon which Account an Irony, which was so familiar and natural to him, did him admirable Service, especially against the Sophists, whom he lov'd to banter and ridicule; for they were a sort of People, as he himself us'd to say, of a very vitiated Palate in all things. The Ignorance he affected, when in Company with them, was a Mark of his Contempt of them; for when he convers'd with Men of Sense and Reason, he chang'd his manner of Behaviour, and transform'd himself as it were into their Humour, that he might dive into their Thoughts. His greatest Excellency consisted in this complaisant Deportment, so that he alway's persuaded, because he always pleas'd.

Invicti cupiditatibus animi viri rigidæ innocentiæ, contemptor gratiarum & divitiarum. Tit. lib. de Porc. cat. l. 39. Hist.

To this Delicacy and Exquisiteness of Disposition, which was peculiar to him, he had join'd the sublimest Virtues; an extraordinary Courage, a firm unshaken Resolution of Mind to support and maintain his Advice, when he thought it useful to the Publick; an Honesty

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nesty not to be corrupted, an Integrity so disinteressted, as not to be biass'd by Presents from the greatest Persons of Quality; to which inimitable Perfections he added those of Frugality, Moderation, Patience, Evenness of Temper, and above all, a Contempt of Death beyond Example. For he treated those that condemn'd him, as if he had been himself their Judge, and had the sole Determination of their Lives and Fortunes. The Curiosity of natural Things which had so much entertain'd other Philosophers, did not in the least affect him; his principal Employment and particular Profession was to instruct Men how to live well; which he did to the last Minute of his Life, as well by his Example as his Doctrine. * It is true indeed he had some scandalous Aspersions cast upon him at *Athens*, and was publickly ridicul'd and sported with upon the Theater by the Wit of *Aristophanes*; but the Corruption of the Times and Humour of the People, which could not behold Merit so transcendent without Obloquy and Detraction, had so authoriz'd this Licentiousness of the Stage, that there was no Virtue secure, at least that of *Socrates*, though pure and unblemish'd, cou'd not escape their Censures. It was under such a Master as this that *Plato* studied Philosophy, and perfected himself in those elevated Precepts of Morality, which *Socrates* hand inrich'd him with; and this was the State and Condition of Philosophy, when *Plato* first apply'd himself to it, and when *Aristotle* was born.

Socrates in judicio capitis pro seipso dixit, ut non simplex & rerus, sed magister & Dominus videretur esse Judicum. Cic. 1. de Orat.

* *Spiritum contempsit ne careret gravitate.* Val. Max. l. 6. c. 4.

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CHAP. III.

The Person of Plato.

NEVER was any Man born in a more lucky Time for Learning than *Plato*; He received his Birth at that famous City of *Athens*, the most flourishing that ever was for Men of Letters, at a Period when all the Sciences shone forth with greater Lustre than ever they had done before. He was a Person of a vast Soul, and of very great Quality, being descended by his Father's side from Royal Ancestors, and by his Mother's from *Solon*; which last was a Pedigree much more honourable than a long Genealogy of Kings. 'Tis reported that his Mother conceiv'd him by the Strength of Imagination, after she had once seen the Statue of *Apollo*; which made some believe that he was his Son, because he was somewhat like that Statue. *Laertius*, *Apulius*, and St. *Jerom* against *Jovinian*, mention this Opinion, which *Origen* looks upon as a meer Fable, in his First Book against *Celsus*. But the *Greeks*, who love to be meddling in every thing, are not content with this; but tell us, if we will give them any Credit, that a Swarm of Bees came one Day, and settled on *Plato's* Cradle, and distill'd their Honey on his Lips; which they look'd upon as a lucky Omen, and from thence concluded that he would be the most eloquent Man of his Age; as if it were a common thing amongst them, for the Birth of great Persons to be signaliz'd by some miraculous Circumstance.

Platonem augustiore cinceptu prosatum dicunt, cum quædam Apollinis figuratio matri se miscuisset. Apol. l. 1. de doct. Plat.

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However true or falſe the Particulars of *Plato*'s Nativity might be, this is certain, that he was educated with great Care in all thoſe Exerciſes which are generally taught Perſons of that Quality; he learn'd Grammar, Mathematicks, Muſick and Painting. In his firſt Years he had a mighty *Genius* and Love for Poetry, and compos'd ſeveral Odes and Tragedies, which where much valued and eſteem'd. In compoſing thoſe Odes and *Dithyrambicks* which he made in Honour of *Bacchus*, he then firſt contracted the Habit of uſing that ſort of Cadence, which we ſo frequently meet with in his Works. *Elian* ſays, that he made Heroick Verſes too; but finding them not equal in Force to thoſe of *Homer*, he burnt them. In ſhort, he follow'd theſe ſort of Studies till about the twentieth Year of his Age; at which time he began to hear *Socrates* with great Induſtry and Application. This Maſter, then ſo celebrated, had a particular Talent at forming great Men. *Criton*, *Ariſtippus*, *Cebes*, *Xenophon*, *Simias*, and *Euclid* of *Megara*, were all his Scholars at that very time. But having obſerv'd in *Plato* quicker natural Parts, and a ſprightlier *Genius* than in others, he was mightily taken with him. He adviſ'd him to read *Homer* often; and 'twas by reading this Author that *Plato* brought himſelf to conceive, and ſpeak things in a lofty, fluent, and agreeable manner; for 'twas then a receiv'd Maxim, amongſt Men of Learning, that there was no Knowledge to be got without reading *Homer*, and no reading him without admiring him.

Socrates being accuſed by the ill Practices of *Anytus* and *Melitus* his Enemies, and made Priſoner, *Plato* rais'd a conſiderable Sum in of Money to procure his Releaſe with his Judges and

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his Accusers; but the Cabal was too powerful, and their Tempers poison'd with too much Malice and Rancour to accommodate the Business. Wherefore finding there was no other Remedy, he took the Boldness to harangue it himself before the People, in Justification of his Master's Innocency and Conduct. The Beginning of his Oration had so much mov'd his Auditory, that the Magistrates fearing a Tumult, silenc'd him, being willing to satisfie the cruel Desire of those that endeavour'd to destroy *Socrates*: which they did without much Difficulty, under so corrupted a Government as that was of thirty Tyrants, who had made themselves Masters of the Common-wealth, but were soon after turn'd out by *Thrasibulus*.

The Philosophers that were then at *Athens* were so alarm'd at the Death of *Socrates*, that most of them fled from the City to avoid the Injustice and Cruelty of the Government. *Plato* retir'd to *Megara*, a City of *Achaia*, to carry on his Study of Philosophy under *Euclide*, who liv'd in that City, and was one of *Socrates* his first Scholars. From *Megara* he went to *Cyrene* to be taught by a great Mathematician, nam'd *Theodorus*, with whom he compleated himself in the Knowledge of that Science.

But as nothing cou'd satisfie his Thirst after Knowledge, he made a Voyage into *Italy* to have a Conference with *Eurytus*, *Philolaus*, and *Archytas* the second of that Name; all which were at that time the most celebrated of the Followers of *Pythagoras*, whose Doctrine was now become famous in *Greece*; and having div'd into the most profound and mysterious Secrets of the *Pythagorean* Philosophy, he past from thence into *Egypt* to learn the Theology of their Priests. *Euripides*, who went along

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long with him in this Voyage, falling ſick in *Egypt*, oblig'd *Plato* to ſtay a great while in theſe Parts, which gave him Leiſure and Opportunity to ſtudy the Religion, and Myſteries of the *Ægyptians*. He had likewiſe ſome Communication with the Books of *Moſes*, by means of the *Jews*, who were very numerous in *Ægypt* after the Captivity. *Clemens Alexandrinus* aſſures us, that he ſtudied under one *Sechnuphis*, a learned Man of *Heliopolis*, who was a *Jew*. And * St. *Auſtin* once believ'd that *Plato* had ſome Conference with the Prophet *Jeremy* in his Voyage to *Ægypt*; but having made an exact † Computation of the time, he found that that Prophet was dead above threeſcore Years before *Plato* came into *Ægypt*.

Ariſt. de Plat. apud Euſeb. l. 1. ſtrom.

Nonnulli putarunt Platonem quando perrexit in Ægyptum Jeremiam audiviſſe.

* Aug. l. 8. de Civit. Dei. Aug. l. 2. de Doct. Chr. † Idem lib. 8. de Civit. Dei.

This Philoſopher having underſtood the moſt ſecret Myſteries of the *Ægyptians*, had the Curioſity to travel into *Perſia* to conſult with the *Magi* about the Religion of that Country, deſigning to go even to the *Indies*, and give a Viſit to the *Brachmans* to learn their Manners and Cuſtoms; but he was prevented by the Wars in *Aſia*, which had begun to divide all *Greece*, ſo that he was oblig'd to return to *Athens*. The moſt honourable Profeſſion at that time amongſt the *Athenians*, was the teaching of Philoſophy, which *Plato*, as ſoon as he arriv'd there, undertook, and in a very little while drew many after him. He ſet up his School in the Academy juſt without the City, which Place afterwards gave the Name to his Sect. *Iſocrates* was one of the firſt that brought *Plato* into Repute; they had contracted a very intimate Friendſhip with one another.

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Laertius makes mention of a Debate these Two Great Men had in a Country-House, upon the Subject of *Poetry*; but this Discourse has not reach'd our Times.

The Prodigies which happen'd in *Sicily* at the Conflagration of Mount *Ætna*, so surpriz'd and confounded all the Philosophers at *Athens*, that *Plato* left his School to satisfie his Curiosity, in a Matter so extraordinary and unaccountable. He went into the Island, to observe, as near as he cou'd, the principal Concave of that Prodigious Fire, which sometimes broke forth with dreadful Violence. *Dionysius* the Tyrant reign'd then at *Syracuse*, he was a very Ill Man; *Cicero* gives us his Character in one Word, for he tells us, that after he had Rob'd a Temple, out of his own Country, and was returning by Sea to *Sicily* with a Prosperous Gale, he said to his Companions, *You see, my Friends, how the Gods favour Sacrilege.* *Plato* went to see him, and instead of Flattering him, as his Courtiers did, he severely reprov'd him for the Disorders of his Court, and with such an Air of Authority, that the Tyrant was surpriz'd; and not being us'd to hear such disagreeable Truths, grew enrag'd with the Philosopher, and wou'd have put him to Death, but that *Dion* and *Aristomenes*, at that time the Favourites of that Prince, and formerly *Plato*'s Scholars, interceded in behalf of the Philosopher, and so sav'd his Life. *Dionysius* was content to deliver him into the Hands of an Envoy of the *Lacedemonians*, who were then at War with the *Athenians*. This Envoy touching upon the Coast of *Ægina*, sold him for a Slave to a Merchant of *Cyrene*, who as soon as he had bought him, sent him away to *Athens*.

Cum fanum Locris expilasset, navigabat Syracusas, cumque secundissimum cursum teneret, videtis, inquit, amici, quam bona à Diis immortalibus navigatio detur sacrilegis. L. 3. de Nat. Deor.

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Some time after, he made a Second Voyage into *Italy*, in the Reign of *Dionyſius* the Younger, who ſent *Dion*, his Miniſter and Favourite, to invite him to Court, and to teach him the Art of Governing his People well. *Plato* accepted of the Invitation, and went with a Deſign to Inſpire this Prince with Notions more mild and gentle, than thoſe that had been infus'd into his Father; and to incline him to that Form of Government which he himſelf had contriv'd, and of which has left us the Principal Maxims in his Book of the *Commonwealth*. But the great Correſpondence *Dion* had contracted with this Philoſopher, rais'd ſome Jealouſy in the Tyrant. *Dion* was diſgrac'd, and *Plato* ſent back again to *Athens*. *Dion* being admitted into Favour again with his Maſter, perſuaded him to recal *Plato*; *Dionyſius* receiv'd him with all the Marks of Good Will and Friendſhip, that a Great Prince cou'd give. He ſent out a very fine Galley to meet him, and went himſelf in a magnificent Chariot, attended with all his Court, to receive him: But his ſuſpicious Humour, and uneven Temper, hurry'd him into his former Miſtruſt. *Plato* was indeed offended at it, and complain'd; *Dionyſius* incens'd at thoſe Complaints, reſolv'd his Death; but *Archytas*, who had great Intereſt with the Tyrant, being inform'd of it by *Dion*, beg'd Pardon for the Philoſopher; which the Tyrant granted, and *Plato* was permitted to retire.

Platoni ſapientia antiſtiti Dionyſius tyrannus, vittatam navem miſit obviam; ipſe quadrigis albis egredientem excepit. Plin. *l.* 7. *c.* 30.

Ælian wou'd perſuade us, that *Plato* taught *Dion* the Secret how to Diſpatch the Tyrant, and deliver the People from Oppreſſion; * *Cicero* is of the ſame Opinion, but upon what Authority 'tis grounded, I know not; there is very little appearance of Truth in it, from the Tem-

* *Dionem Plato non linguæ ſolum, verùm etiam animi & virtutis magiſter, ad liberandam patriam impulit.* Cic. *l.* 3. *de Orat.*

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Temper and Constitution of *Plato*, which was free from all Violence. But however this may be, the People of *Athens* receiv'd him at his Return with universal Joy, and wou'd have Complimented him with the Administration of the Government; but he declin'd the Honour, chusing rather to retire from all Publick Business, that he might Employ himself with greater Ease and Quiet in the Contemplation of Natural Things, and the Study of Philosophy. He gave away his Estate amongst his Brothers, reserving to himself only a little Seat in the Country, with a small Garden, where he might pass away the Remainder of his Life, without Disturbance or Molestation. Liberty was a thing he valued at so high a Rate, that he could never be prevail'd upon to Marry. In short, he ever after liv'd a very Peaceable, Happy Life, as being a Man always of an unblemish'd Character, and free from Ambition. His former Days he spent in the Service of the State at *Tenaros*, at *Corinth*, and in the Isle of *Delos*; and his latter in the Study of Philosophy: He was much inclin'd to the Opinions of *Heraclitus*, in Points of *Physicks*, to those of *Pythagoras* in Points of *Metaphysicks*, and to those of *Socrates* in Points of *Morality*; and from these Three Masters, he gather'd a Compleat System of Philosophy.

He always behav'd himself very civilly to the other Philosophers, and convers'd with them in a Genteel manner; which was a thing very rare in those Days, when Envy rag'd so much among them, and every one us'd the utmost Efforts to Strengthen and Establish his Party. He sometimes entertain'd *Diogenes* the *Cynick*, who was but a meer Pretender to

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Philoſophy, a Man of very little Worth, and of ſuch an odd Temper, that he wou'd be always Quarrelling, that he might ſeem Independent to all the World; he was of ſuch a Snarling, Surly, Moroſe Diſpoſition, that he was continually Cenſuring and Abuſing even his very beſt Friends, ſuch as *Plato* was, at whoſe Table he was ſo often welcome. One Day, *Plato* having invited him to Dinner, with ſome of his Friends of *Sicily*, he gave Orders to have his Dining-Room very finely furniſh'd for the Reception of his Gueſts; *Diogenes* being incens'd at this Gallantry of *Plato*, and always catching at any Opportunity to Criticize upon his Actions, began to tread upon the Tapeſtry and other Moveables with his dirty Feet, with this Brutiſh Sarcaſm, *I Trample under Feet the Pride of* Plato; to which *Plato* wiſely reparteed, *But with a greater Pride.*

Tho' *Plato* had a Soul fit and proper for Higher, and more Elevated Things, yet he cou'd not ſometimes forbear Raillery, but 'twas always inoffenſive; and he was never known to be Cenſorious, but in order to make Converſation more agreeable. His Dialogues are full of thoſe Pleaſant Turns, he us'd in common Diſcourſe; which ſhews us the Difference between Men that have only Wit, and thoſe that have Wit and Good Breeding too. 'Twas upon this Account, that *Plato* ſo ſtrongly recommended it to his Scholars, and particularly to *Dion* and *Xenocrates*, to Sacrifice to the Graces: And we may properly ſay, that he had perform'd that Religious Worſhip to them himſelf; for 'twas impoſſible to Hear him, and not Aſſent to his Doctrine; to See him, and not to Admire him. There are certain Pieces of Epigrams, in *Apuleius* and the *Anthology*, which have

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have some Agreement with the Delicacy of his Wit, some Resemblance of his Spritely *Genius*; but *Marcilius Ficinus* says, those Verses are too Soft to be *Plato*'s, and not at all answerable to the Gravity of that Great Man. He assures us too, that they were forg'd by *Aristippus* only to blast *Plato*'s Reputation, and bring his Virtues in question. *Dicearchus*, *Athenæus*, *Aulugella*, seem all to favour the Philosopher, and believe 'em to be Supposititious; but if there be any of those Epigrams, which may, upon any good Foundation, any warrantable Authority, be ascrib'd to him, 'tis without doubt that which is so much boasted of by Antiquity, upon a young Man whom *Plato* lov'd. At least *Apuleius*, *Tasso*, and some others of the Moderns, have translated them as *Plato*'s; and the Universal Approbation they have met with, is an Argument to me of the Truth of this Opinion. As to his Amours, with that *Colophonian*, of which *Laertius* and *Athenæus* speak, and the Epigram the *Anthology* makes mention of, there may be something in it, tho' St. *Austin* wou'd give no Credit to it. There are certain Weaknesses and Infirmities in Men, which Pagan Philosophy had not the Power to remedy.

Nos injuria Dicæarchum accusat, qui authore nostro Platone amori authoritatem tribuerunt. 4. Tusc.

Multi auditorum utriusque sexus in ejus Philosophia floruerunt. Apul.

Apuleius tells us, in Commendation of *Plato*'s Doctrine, that 'twas much Studied by the Ladies, and mightily in Vogue with the Virtuosa's of that soft Sex. *Themistbius* informs us of a certain Lady, that having read over some Books of his Commonwealth, put on the Habit of a Man, and came to *Athens*, and Studied some time in that Disguise under *Plato*, without being discover'd; *Laertius* and St. *Clemens Alexandrinus* give us an account of some other Women that did the same. This

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was that which gave Rise to several Scandalous Reflections, from which all the Wisdom and Gravity of *Plato* could not secure him. It was a very difficult matter to keep such things as these private, in a City so lewd and debauch'd as *Athens*; where the general Diversion and Entertainment was, to Examine into, and Censure the Conduct of one another. However, we ought not to give too much Credit to *Aristippus*, or *Antisthenes*, of whom *Athenæus* speaks, nor to *Athenæus* himself, nor to rely upon *Apuleius*, *George* of *Trebisond*, and others, in forming a Judgment of what relates to the Carriage and Behaviour of *Plato*: their Testimonies may be justly suspected, because of the Prejudice they had conceiv'd, and often expres'd, against this Philosopher. *Plutarch*, *Laertius*, *Valerius Maximus* and *Photius* give us so many Examples of his Moderation in all things, that throughout the whole Course of his Life we shall meet with no Instances of his Ill Conduct; tho' there are, I must confess, some slight Suspicions of his Ill Management, in some Particulars, of some unjustifiable Methods he had undertaken. The Discourse which he makes in the *Phædria*, against *Lysias*, is indeed a Confirmation of his Wrong Proceedings in some Cases. In short, he was so far above Envy, as to despise all that their Malicious Tongues cou'd invent against him: Nor was he ever known to Speak Ill of any Person; which was a Vertue very rare and uncommon among the Philosophers of his Time.

'Tis true there was some Coldness and Indifference between him and *Xenophon*, though they had been both the favourite Scholars of *Socrates*. *Aulugella* reports, that *Xenophon* having Aulug. l. 14. c. 3.

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ing read the two first Books of *Plato*'s Commonwealth, and envying him that Success they had met with in the World, wrote that curious Piece *of the Institution of Cyrus*, with a design to oppose the Example of Monarchy, which was a more noble and a more compleat Form of Government, to that Idea of a Commonwealth, which *Plato* wou'd have establish'd. *Plato*'s Answer to this Work is in few Words, which we find in his third Book of Laws: *That* Cyrus *indeed was a great General, but so uncapable of giving Rules for the Government of a Kingdom, that he knew not how to manage his own private Affairs, how to rule his own Family.* *Cicero*, in his Epistle to his Brother concerning his Conduct in the Province he was made Governour of, says, That the Institution of *Cyrus* is only a Draught or Scheme of what ought to be done in the Education of a young Prince, and the Image of a perfect Government: And that as to the History of *Cyrus*, there is no Foundation of Truth in it. *Hermogenes* in his Characters, looks upon the Adventure of *Abradates* and *Panthæa*, which is one of the greatest Ornaments of that Work, to be but a meer Fable.

παιδείας δ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἤφθαι τὸ παράπαν. ex Gell. loc. cit. sumpt. ex Athen.

Cyrus à Xenophonte non ad historiæ fidem scriptus, sed ad effigiem justi Imperii. Ad Quint. frat. Ep. 1. Hermog. l. 2. de pr. orat.

It is truly somewhat strange, that two such great Men as *Plato* and *Xenophon*, who had studied under the same Master, and treated of the same Subjects, and almost after the same Manner, shou'd be so reserv'd as not to speak to one another; which makes me believe, that they had no great Love and Affection for one another; and I find it to be the Opinion of those great Men which came immediately after them, that there was no good understanding between them. *Aulugella* says, That they avoided the very naming one another in their Works;

Athen. l. 11. Aul. 9. l. 14. c. 3.

Works; but yet 'tis moſt certain, that they did make mention the one of the other: For *Xenophon* ſpeaks of *Plato*, in the third Book of his Memoirs; and *Plato* of *Xenophon*, in the third Book of his Law. That little Eſteem which *Plato* had for *Ariſtippus*, was better grounded. For *Ariſtippus* had falſe Vertues, and made an Oſtentation of his very Vices. So that *Plato* did with greater pain behold the Pride and Vanity of this Philoſopher, than he did the Brutiſhneſs of *Diogenes*. He very pleaſantly ridicul'd the different Manners of theſe two Men; but the Scorn and Contempt he caſt upon them, did not in the leaſt diſturb his quiet, his Virtue being too ſolid to be ſhaken by ſo ſlight a thing. That which made it more firm and unmoveable, was that it was ſupported by ſincere thoughts of Religion; for he every day gave thanks to the Gods, that he had had *Socrates* for his Maſter, and that they had made him a Man; which he reckon'd amongſt the number of thoſe Graces he had receiv'd from Heaven, being perſuaded of the *Metempſychoſis*.

To conclude, being come to the Age of fourſcore Years and one, he died a very eaſie peaceable Death, in the midſt of an Entertainment he had made for his Friends upon his Birth-day. Both the Life and Death of this Philoſopher were very calm and undiſturb'd. Beſide the Advantages of a noble Birth, he had a large ſhare of Wit, which was naturally ſweet and eaſie, and a vaſt comprehenſive Capacity: He was honour'd by his Country-men, eſteem'd by Strangers, and ador'd by his Scholars: The Love he had for Study, was his ſovereign Pleaſure and Delight, which he enjoy'd to the very laſt Moment of his Life. But his

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his Study had none of those melancholy and sad Meditations, which darken the Soul, and turn the Man into a Brute. On the contrary, he was perswaded that the greatest advantage of Knowledge was to please and divert those whom he would instruct, and that 'twas better to know how to Live, than how to Discourse. The Sweetness of his Nature made him belov'd by all that knew him, and his Knowledge gain'd him Admiration with all succeeding Ages. He was a Man of such universal Esteem, that going one day from *Syracuse* to the Place where they celebrated the *Olympick* Games, which was the general Assembly of all *Greece*, as soon as he appear'd, they quitted their Sports and Shows to see him. He was belov'd and highly valued by all great Persons in his Life time, and after his Death, he had Kings and Commonwealths that erected Statues and dedicated Altars to him. All these Qualities obtain'd for him the Name and Title of the *Divine*, and his Memory is become sacred to all Ages. Such was the Merit and Glory of *Plato*; let us now proceed to speak of *Aristotle*.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Person of Aristotle.

HE was of *Stagira* a small City in *Macedonia*, his Father's Name was *Nicomachus*, formerly Physician to *Amyntas* the Grandfather of *Alexander*. Some pretend, that *Nicomachus* deriv'd his Original from *Æsculapius* the Son of *Apollo*.

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Apollo. *Ariſtotle* loſt both his Father and his Mother, while he was an Infant. *Proxenes*, being a Friend and old Acquaintance of his Father's, took care of his Education; and brought him up at ſome diſtance from *Athens*, but with very ill Management; for *Ariſtotle* having begun to Study Grammar, and afterwards Poetry, left thoſe Studies, and enter'd upon a Courſe of Lewdneſs and Debauchery, and for ſome time abus'd the Indulgence of his Tutor. However, he ſucceeded in Poetry, witneſs that Poem he compos'd upon the Death of thoſe Heroes that were ſlain at the Siege of *Troy*, which *Euſtathius* and *Porphyry* make mention of. Having waſted a good part of the Eſtate his Father left him, by a looſe and profligate way of Life, he liſted himſelf into the Army when *Lyſiſtratus* was *Prætor*. But not finding himſelf very ſucceſsful in that Profeſſion, he went to *Delphos* to conſult the Oracle what Courſe he ſhou'd take, which commanded him to go to *Athens* and apply himſelf to Philoſophy. Æl. l. 5. c. 9. Athen. l. 8. Euſeb. l. 15. de præp. Evang.

He was now about ſeventeen Years old: *Olympiodorus* ſays, That he firſt began this Study under *Socrates*: *Ammonius* and the Cardinal *Beſſarion* are of the ſame Opinion, but *Laertius* diſſents from it. If we conſult *Euſebius*, we ſhall find that *Socrates* died the third Year of the eighty fifth Olympiad; and that *Ariſtotle*, was Born in the ninety ninth; which Account agrees with the Computation made by *Apollodorus* and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*.

'Tis therefore more probable, that *Ariſtotle* began his Studies under *Plato*, in the ſeventeenth Year of his Age, and finiſh'd them not till about the thirty ſeventh. But becauſe he had Ariſt. Meſen. exEpicur. ſpent his Eſtate, he was forc'd to live for ſome time upon Traffick, and ſo turn'd Pedlar, and

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cry'd sweet Powder and Perfumes up and down the Streets at *Athens*. 'Tis certain, that he follow'd his Studies with so much Diligence and Application, that although he found the School of *Plato* fill'd with Men of excellent Parts, yet in a very short time he out-did those that out-did all others. He was of indefatigable Labour and Industry, and his Master was surpriz'd with the Eagerness, wherewith he run over all that had been written upon Philosophy, and all that was at that time in Repute: *Plato* call'd him, the Soul of his School; and when any Indisposition or Business kept *Aristotle* way, they us'd to say, That Philosophy in truth was not there, and wou'd not decide any Controversie without his Advice.

Ælian ex l. 5. c. 9. Athen. ex l. 8.

His Thirst after Knowledge, and Desire of Learning, increas'd every day: *Laertius* observes, that he Eat but little, and Slept less: And that to resist the Drowsiness of Sleep, he always held one Hand out of Bed, with a Ball of Brass in it, which falling into a Basin, was to awake him with the Noise: *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us, that *Alexander* the Great made use of the same Device. But, as 'tis common for Men of great Parts and profound Abilities to retire within themselves and give themselves up wholly to Meditation, without making any Figure abroad; so the Reputation of *Aristotle*, made very little noise in the World, during those twenty Years that he was *Plato*'s Scholar: For he convers'd with no body, and abstain'd from all sorts of Diversion, that he might not rob himself of one Moment's Study. *Plato*, who thought that Excess of Labour might prejudice his Health, oftentimes caution'd him to take care of it; but his Inclination was more prevalent than the Authority of his Master, and

Alexander ænea concha supposita brachio extra cubile protento pilum tenebat argenteum ut cum nervorum vigorem sopor laxasset infusus tinnitus somnum rumperet. Am. Marcel. l. 16.

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and his melancholy Temper, which gave him up entirely to Contemplation, bore him out through all.

From hence it was, that he went to the depth of things with so much Vigour, and dispos'd them into great Order when he had search'd them out. Upon the same Account it is, that *Galen* commends *Aristotle* as the First and Chief of the Philosophers, for having div'd to the Bottom of the general Causes of all Beings, and given an exact particular Detail of them. *Clemens Alexandrinus* assures us, that *Aristotle* had, at *Athens*, Conferences with a *Jew*, to instruct him in the Religion of the *Ægyptians*. *Eusebius* is of the same Opinion, and both seem to ground it upon the Testimony of a *Peripatician* nam'd *Clearchus*, and 'tis indeed very probable, that this Philosopher, to supply the Defect of a Voyage into *Ægypt*, which was then thought necessary for the attainment of Knowledge, contented himself thus to understand the Mysteries and Religion of the *Ægyptians*, and save so much time as wou'd have been spent in the bare Travelling into those Parts.

Gal. de nat. potent.

Strom. l. 1.

Clear. lib. de somno.

It was about fifteen Years after *Aristotle* had studied under *Plato*, that he began to have Conceptions different from those of his Master. As he was a Man of good solid Sense, and desirous to reduce all his Thoughts under certain Rules, and those founded upon Reason; he cou'd not take up with and acquiesce in those wandring Principles, on which *Plato* seem'd to establish his Doctrine. The Boldness of *Aristotle*, to maintain his Opinions against *Plato*, even in his own School, made his Master conceive some displeasure against him, and find fault with his vain expensive Habit, as not conform-

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able to the Profession of a Philosopher. For truly, *Aristotle* did begin to be nice and finical, and took too much care in setting himself off, but *Plato* seem'd not to take any notice of it, till *Aristotle* had contradicted him in his Opinions. 'Tis certain, that the Scholar, by examining and penetrating into the Opinions of his Master, made his Master pronounce him of a cavilling, captious Temper, and of a spirit of Contradiction. This gave occasion to *Helladius* and *Ælian* to say, That *Plato* complain'd of it with high Resentment, and that he treated his Scholar, as an ungrateful Wretch, with Ignominy and Disgrace.

Laertius pretends, that the Malice of *Aristotle* against *Plato* was carried to such a Height, as to put him upon the Attempt of erecting a School in opposition to his, even whilst *Plato* was alive. But *Eusebius* and *Ammonius*, clear him from this Imputation: And *Philoponus* assures us, that *Cabrias* and *Timotheus* who were then at the Helm of Affairs, and related to *Plato*, wou'd never have suffer'd it. It cannot be denied, but that *Aristotle* did hold some Opinions contrary to those of *Plato*, nor does there seem any occasion of making an Apology for him in this Case; since nothing is freer than the Mind, and the Acknowledgments that are due to a Master, do not lay the least Obligation upon a Scholar to espouse all his Opinions. After all, 'tis certain that *Aristotle* did not break through those common Ties of good Nature and Gratitude, in relation to things Essential; for he preserv'd a very great Respect for *Plato*, even to his Death; and afterwards, to let the World know what a Veneration he had for so extraordinary a Man, he wrote a Discourse in Honour of his Memory; and erected an Altar

Euseb. de præp. Evan. Ammon. in vit. Arist.

Laer. in Plat.

to

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to Him as to a God, the Inſcription of which is remaining to this very Day in the *Anthology*.

Theſe Acknowledgments of *Ariſtotle* to his Maſter, are ſo much the more to be commended, in that he had ſome Reaſon to be diſſatisfied, ſome grounds to be diſguſted with *Plato*. For *Plato*, had made choice of *Speucippus* to ſucceed him in his School, a Man not half ſo deſerving as *Ariſtotle*. It was this in all probability that made him quit *Athens* and retire to *Atarnia*, a ſmall City in the Province of *Myſia* towards the *Helleſpont*, where his old Friend *Hermias* was King. This Prince receiv'd him ſo kindly, that he gave him his Siſter *Pythias* in Marriage, which ſoon carried off that ſpleennetick Humour he had contracted upon the Slight *Plato* had put upon him. But *Ariſtotle* was ſo in love with this Princeſs, and ſo tranſported with her Charms, that he offer'd Sacrifices to her, with the ſame Ceremonies as were perform'd to the Goddeſs *Ceres*, and compos'd a Hymn in honour of *Hermias* his Benefactor, after the Manner of thoſe that are made to *Apollo*. And yet *Athenæus*, who never pardons *Ariſtotle* upon any account, juſtifies him in relation to this Hymn: And *Ariſtotle* the *Peripatician* affirms, that the Story of theſe Oblations to *Pythias* was mere Calumny rais'd upon him by a *Pythagorean* nam'd *Lycon*.

Ariſt. apud Euſeb. lib. con. Phil. in notis Caſaub. ſupra Diog. Laer. in Ariſt.

Ariſtotle ſtaid three Years with *Hermias*. But that Prince being taken Priſoner by *Memnon* General of the King of *Perſia*'s Army, this Philoſopher retir'd to *Mitylene* the Capital City of *Leshos*, where he continued for ſome time. *Philip* King of *Macedon* had now made himſelf

Master of *Thrace*, and of the best part of *Greece*; and having heard somewhat of the Reputation of *Aristotle*, he wrote a very civil Letter to him to invite him to come and take Care of the Education of his Son *Alexander*, who was then about fourteen Years of Age. *Aristotle* accepted of the Offers made him; and in those eight Years, he was with that young Prince, he taught him Eloquence, Physicks, Ethicks, and Politicks; especially what was most obscure in those Sciences, together with a particular sort of Philosophy, which, as *Plutarch* affirms, this Great Man taught no other Person.

Neq; vero fugit sapientissimum Regem Philippum, qui Aristotelem Alexandro filio doctorem accivit, à quo eodem ille & agendi præcepta acciperet & loquendi. Cic. l. 3. de Orat.

Philip and *Olympias* his Queen, seeing the Progress their Son had made under the Tuition of so excellent a Master, commanded Statues to be erected in Honour of *Aristotle*, and plac'd them amongst those the People had set up for them. *Philip* gave Orders for the rebuilding of *Stagira*, which had been demolish'd by the late Wars, and, in Favour of his Son's Master, restor'd the Inhabitants to their ancient Liberty. *Alexander*, for his part, had such an Esteem for *Aristotle*, that he profess'd publickly, that he was more oblig'd to him than to *Philip*; for his Father had only made him a Prince, but his Master had made him a Man: And undoubtedly there could be no less than so great a Master as *Aristotle*, to form so great a Prince as *Alexander*. 'Tis the Glory of *Socrates*, that he had such a Scholar as *Plato*, and of *Plato*, that he was Master to *Aristotle*; how much more honourable must it then be for *Aristotle* to have brought up such a Scholar as *Alexander*, who deserved to be Master of the

Plutar. in Alex.

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whole World? But *Lucian*, who ſpares no body, would have us believe that *Ariſtotle* gave *Alexander* an ill Education, that he abus'd the Goodneſs of his Nature, and became the groſſeſt and moſt fulſome Flatterer of all his Court. But *Lucian* is a Railer, who, to ſupport a Character that beſt pleaſed his Fancy, did not ſtick to turn every thing into Burleſque, even Religion it ſelf, Philoſophy, and Loyalty, the three things of the World which moſt deſerve Reſpect and Veneration. Luc. in Dial. Alex. & Diog.

After all this, *Ariſtotle* loſt the Favour of *Alexander* by a very ſtrange Accident. *Caliſthenes*, one of that Prince's Courtiers, and a near Relation of *Ariſtotle*'s, was us'd to talk ſomewhat too freely, even in the Audience of *Alexander* himſelf, who had often bore with him: But the young Man, out of too auſtere a Virtue, too ſevere and rigid a Temper, having one day too publickly let fall ſome things in Reflection upon the King's Conduct, was diſgrac'd at Court; and, as 'tis pretended, in Revenge, too eaſily hearken'd to the Propoſitions made by *Hermolaus*, and ſome others of the Nobility, againſt the Life of *Alexander*. The Conſpiracy was diſcover'd, *Caliſthenes* expos'd to the *Lions*, and *Ariſtotle* ſuſpected of having been in the Plot. *Caliſthenes interiit haud quicquam aulæ & aſſentantium ingenio accommodatus*, Curt. l. 8. Plutar. in Alex.

But whilſt the Deſire of Glory hurries on *Alexander* to the Conqueſt of the whole World, *Ariſtotle* retires to *Athens*, where he found a very favourable Reception. For *Philip* had, in Conſideration of him, been formerly very gracious to the *Athenians*. After the Death of *Speucippus*, Maſter of *Plato*'s School, *Xenocrates* ſucceeded, and *Ariſtotle* finding the Vacancy fill'd, was now reſolv'd to ſet up a School of his own. The Deſign he had of teaching af-

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ter a different manner from that of *Plato*, and of receding from his Opinions, was the chief Motive that put him upon this Project, and confirm'd him in the Resolution. The Magistrates of *Athens*, willing to make some Acknowledgment of his Merit, gave him the *Lyceum* to set up this new School in; which Place, in a little time, became famous by the Concourse of his Scholars. It was, at this time, he compos'd his principal Works: yet *Plutarch* says, that he had already writ his Books of Natural and Moral Philosophy, of Metaphysicks and Rhetorick: and tells us likewise, that *Alexander* was very much displeased with him for having made publick what he had taught him; in which *Alexander* was not just to rob *Aristotle* of so much lawful Glory, and Posterity of such useful Works. But *Alexander* pretended to raise himself above all the World, as well by his Knowledge as his Power, and to exceed all Mankind as far in the one as the other, so much he affected Glory.

Plutar. in Alex.

The same *Plutarch* informs us, that *Aristotle*, disgusted at *Alexander*'s Suspicions of him, and at the Presents he had sent to *Xenocrates*, resented it so highly, that he was a Confederate in the Conspiracy of *Antipater*. *Xiphilinus* does in some manner authorize this Opinion, when he describes the foolish Vanity of *Caracalla*. This extravagant Emperor, who affected to resemble *Alexander* in all things, expell'd all the *Peripatetick* Philosophers out of *Alexandria*, imagining that *Aristotle* had in Effect contributed to the Death of *Alexander*: But with Deference both to *Plutarch* and *Xiphilinus*, this Opinion has no Foundation, at least it made no Impression upon the Mind of that Prince; who, even after the Death of *Calisthenes*, and in the very

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very Height of all his Conqueſts, commanded *Ariſtotle* to apply himſelf to the Conſideration of Animals. He ſent him eight hundred Talants to bear the Expences of that Study, and gave him a vaſt number of Huntſmen and Fiſhermen, to work according to his Orders, and bring him in from every part, whereon he might make his Obſervations. 480000 *Crowns ex ſupp. Bud.*

This Liberality, and theſe Cares, were Teſtimonies of the Greatneſs of Soul that was in this Prince, as well as Tokens of the little Impreſſion that Suſpicion had made upon his Mind, that *Ariſtotle* was concern'd in the Conſpiracy of *Caliſthenes*, which *Quintus Curtius* believes to be falſe. *Alexandri Regis inflammata cupidine animalium naturas noſcendi, delegatæque commentatione Ariſtotele ſummo in omni ſcientia viro, aliquot hominum millia in totius Aſiæ Græciæque tractu ei parere juſſa*, &c. Plin. l. 8. c. 16. Athen. l. 9. Ælian. l. 4. Var. Hiſt. c. 19.

Caliſthenes initi in caput Regis conſilii innocuus. Curt. l. 8.

As for the Conſpiracy of *Antipater*, who poiſon'd *Alexander*, of which *Plutarch* acquits *Ariſtotle*, it has leſs Appearance of Truth than the former; for *Ariſtotle* liv'd at *Athens* in Peace and Quiet, under the Protection of that Prince, and was not expos'd to the Perſecution of his Enemies till after *Alexander's* Death; which was then raiſed againſt him by the cunning Artifices, and at the Inſtigation of a Prieſt of *Ceres*, nam'd *Eurymedon*. This Prieſt accus'd *Ariſtotle* of Impiety; and, to colour over his Accuſation, and give it Credit, he produc'd the Hymn which this Philoſopher had formerly compoſed in Honour of *Hermias*; and inſtanc'd in thoſe Sacrifices he had made to that Prince's Siſter, as to the Goddeſs *Ceres*. *Ariſtotle*, to clear himſelf, writ a very large Apology to the Magiſtrates, not being willing to expoſe

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expose his Person in his own Defence; for he wanted the Advantages of Elocution, being very defective in his Speech, having a small and unpleasant Voice.

Propter rerum rectitudinem pulsus Athenis. Alb. Mag. V. Eth. c. 1. Strab. l. 10. & Suid.

After this Philosopher had thus deliver'd in a Justification of himself to the Bench, he retired to *Calcis*, a City of *Eubœa*, being apprehensive of a severe Sentence from the People of *Athens*; who were very nice in Matters of Religion. The sole Remembrance of *Socrates* his Case upon the like Accusation, raised in *Aristotle* such a dread of falling into the Hands of this People, that some believe he chose rather to poison himself, than trust to the Mercy of his Enemies. St. *Justin* and St. *Gregory Nazianzen* say, that he died with Discontent, because he cou'd not comprehend the Cause of the ebbing and flowing of the *Euripus*. Upon which several of the Moderns have invented this Story, which has since very much prevail'd, that *Aristotle* threw himself into the *Euripus*, saying these Words, *Since I can't comprehend Thee, thou shalt comprehend me.*

Just. in adm. ad Gentes. Greg. Nazian. contra. Jul. Nonnus in Greg. Theol. Joan. Vallen. Ang. Cel. Rhodig. l. 19. Lect. antiqu. Pic. Mirand.

Others believe that he died a natural Death, of the Colick: *Censorinus* and *Ammianus Marcellinus* assure us, that he was very subject to that Distemper. This last Opinion seems to me the most likely; for what Probability is there that a Man of so much Sense and Prudence as *Aristotle*, should determine to poison himself; and that too after he had secur'd himself by a wise Retreat from the Power of the *Athenians*; or that he should give himself up to Melancholy and Despair, because he cou'd not comprehend the ebbing and flowing of a Tide, who had so often met with several things that set

Censorin. de die nat. Amm. l. 16.

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ſet bounds to his Knowledge, and of which he was content to be ignorant? He died in his great Climacterick Year, Sixty three, at which Age *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero* died, but a violent Death. The People of *Stagyra* took away his Body, and erected Altars to him. He left behind him a Daughter by *Pythias*, and a Son by another Wife. The Daughter was married a ſecond time to a younger Son of *Demaratus*, King of *Lacedæmon*, and the Son was that *Nicomachus*, whom he ſo dearly lov'd, and to whom he dedicated his Books of Morality.

CHAP. V.

A Compariſon between their Manners and their Parts.

TO conclude this firſt Part, which reſpects only the Perſon of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, I think we may form this Judgment of their particular Qualifications and Endowments from the Abridgment I have made of their Lives. The Behaviour of *Plato* ſeem'd more innocent, and his Manners more uncorrupted, and his Converſation more agreeable than *Ariſtotle's*. Birth and good Education, without doubt, gave theſe Advantages to *Plato*, who was brought up like a Perſon of Quality. *Ariſtotle* was ſometimes reduc'd to the Neceſſity of turning Empirick for a Livelihood; ſo that the unhappy Condition of his Affairs reduc'd him to the miſerable Circumſtances of a ſtruggling and precarious Life. *Plato*, at his Return from his Tra-

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Travels, liv'd retir'd. *Aristotle* was a long time at Court, expos'd to the Tumult and Hurry of a Court-Life, and to all the Adventures of a Courtier. His Natural Inclinations principally appear'd at the Court of *Hermias*, where he acted without Constraint: His Passion for *Pythias*, the Adorations he paid her, and all the irregular Extravagancies of his Love; the manner of his leaving that Prince, upon being disgrac'd; his Jealousies of *Speucippus*; his irreconcileable Hatred of *Xenocrates*; the Intrigues he carried on in the Courts of *Philip* and *Alexander*, who were both equally delicate and nice; and the pretended Suspicions of *Alexander*, in relation to his Fidelity, sufficiently lay open the very bottom of his Heart. *Plato*, who confined himself to his Books and his School, did not so often contend with Fortune; so that his Life was more easie, his Mind more calm and peaceable, his Conduct more just and regular, his Thoughts, in relation to his Friends, more honest, and, in relation to the Gods, more religious.

I must confess indeed, that of all the Vertues of *Plato*, there is none that I admire more, or am more affected with, than his Bashfulness and Modesty. He that knew how to speak so well, never utter'd any thing as his own: 'Twas by the Mouth of his Master that he express'd himself: 'Twas *Socrates* that spoke all that *Plato* knew, and the Master that obtain'd the Character and Reputation of a Man of Learning, which was due to the Scholar; or rather the Scholar, that gave his Master the Honour and Credit of all that he said, and all that he knew: Never was there any Scholar that paid so much Acknowledgment to his Master, as *Plato* did to *Socrates*. *Aristotle* was the very Reverse, and acted

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acted the direct contrary to all this: He advanc'd his own Maxims, and publiſh'd his Doctrine eſtabliſh'd upon his own Foundations, without ſo much as making the leaſt mention of *Plato*, who had been his Maſter.

As to the Qualities of Mind, they were both equally extraordinary, they had both a *Genius* that was elevated and advanced, and proper for great things. 'Tis true, that *Plato* had the brighteſt and moſt refined Parts; but *Ariſtotle* had a Soul more enlarged: *Plato* had a lively, quick, and copious Fancy, fertile in Inventions, Idea's, Expreſſions and Figures, giving a thouſand different Turns, and a thouſand new and diſtinct Colours to every thing; but, after all, it was very often properly no more than a meer Fancy. *Ariſtotle* is hard and dry in all he ſays: but however, what he ſays is ſolid ſubſtantial Reaſon, though his Language be rough. His Stile, pure as it is, has, I know not what, ſomething in it ſtiff and rigid; and his Obſcurities, whether natural or affected, perplex and weary out moſt of his Readers. *Plato* is very delicate and nice in all that he thinks, and in all that he ſays: *Ariſtotle* is far from this Exactneſs, though he have more of Nature in his Stile: which is plain and well connected, but ſomewhat rugged and knotty: *Plato*'s is lofty and ſublime, but ſomewhat looſe and diffus'd. This always ſays more than need, dwelling generally too long upon a Subject, that never ſays enough, but gives us only ſome general Hints, and leaves us to find out by Dint of Thought what he has paſs'd over in Silence. The one ſurprizes and dazles us with a blazing Character; the other enlightens and inſtructs us by a juſt and ſolid Method: And as the Reaſonings of the one are more home

and

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and to the purpose, being plain and unartificial; so the Reasonings of the other are more ingenious, intricate, and confus'd. *Plato* instills Wit by the Fertility of his own, and *Aristotle* infuses Reason and Judgment by the Impression of good Sense, which appears in all he has said. In short, *Plato*'s Design is, for the most part, only to speak well; *Aristotle*'s to reason well, to dive to the bottom of things, to search out and fix upon some first Principles, and from these to draw infallible Conclusions; whilst *Plato*, allowing himself a greater Liberty, adorns his Discourse, and pleases more; but out of too great an Ambition of moving the Passions, he is often hurried away by his own Eloquence. He expressed every thing he said by a Figure, which, perhaps, gave *Longinus* Occasion to blame the immoderate Use he makes of Metaphors, out of too great an Affectation of the Sublime, in which he appears to have gone beyond the due Bounds: His *Exordiums* of *Timæus*, of *Phædon*, of *Critias*, and of *Parmenides*, have all the Loftiness and Grandeur of this Stile, but are not answerable to the Character of a Philosopher, and of a Man that makes it his Profession to instruct the World.

Longin. cap. 29. de Gen. sub.

Plato fusvius ad legendum, quam potentius ad persuadendum scribit: contra Aristoteles plus roboris habet quam suavitatis. Carp. in Alceon.

Aristotle has a Command over himself, and keeps within Limits: He calls things simply by their proper Names; so that, never wandring from his Path, never soaring too high, he avoids those Errors into which *Plato* fell; who leads all those that follow him too close, into a false Road, by his too pleasant Method of Instruction.

In omnibus quæ discenda Oratori eminuit Plato. Fab. l. 1. c. 11.

But though *Plato* has excell'd in all the Parts of Eloquence, tho he was a most perfect Orator in *Longinus* his Opinion, which is confirm'd to Us by *Hermogenes* in his *Idea's*, tho the Elo-

quence

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quence of this Philoſopher exceeded that of all Orators: and tho *Ariſtotle* cannot be ſaid to be upon any Account eloquent; yet we ſhall find that he commonly, upon any Subject to be diſcours'd of, adds the Body, the nervous and moſt ſubſtantial part, whilſt the other gives only the outward Form, beautified and adorn'd with Variety of Colours. 'Tis in this Senſe that we are to take the Opinion of *Quintilian*, when he ſays, that the *Platoniſts*, who are the principal Scholars of *Socrates*, have the beſt Method of making a compleat Orator. But, to finiſh this Parallel, *Cicero* pretends that *Plato* was too perverſely bent to, and too obſtinately affected with the Study of Geometry, Muſick, and Aſtronomy: He did indeed endeavour too much to refine upon that Knowledge of Numbers, which he had taken from the *Pythagoreans*, by which he has involved himſelf in frequent and repeated Myſteries, in the moſt common Reaſonings of Philoſophy. *Ariſtotle* has confin'd himſelf to the Objects of Senſe alone, on theſe he lays the common Foundation of his Knowledge, without raiſing himſelf above his Subject, by the Subtleties and intricate Refinements of *Plato*, with which that Philoſopher, ſo much given up to abſtracted Notions, had worn himſelf out. After all, the Difference and Diſtinction between theſe two Philoſophers will more remarkably appear from an Account of their Method, which is the Second Part I have propoſed in this Compariſon.

Oratorem futurum optimè Socratici præparant. Fab l. 10. c. 11.

Plato Geometriæ, Muſicæ, Aſtris & Numeris ſe contrivit. Cic. l. 1. de fin.

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The Methods of PLATO *and* ARISTOTLE.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

The Method of Plato.

PLATO obſerves no certain Method in explaining his Doctrine; his *Genius* is ſo free, and his Stile ſo mixt and compounded, that he ſeems not to follow any Rule. But after all, if we read him with Attention, we cannot but meet with ſome Marks and Tokens of a Method proper and peculiar to him alone; becauſe of the great Liberty he takes, and of that Variety and Diverſity of Methods, if we may ſo call it, which he allows himſelf in all his Compoſitions.

The Firſt, and moſt known of all theſe Methods, is that of *Dialogue*, which he borrow'd from *Socrates*, and ſome other Philoſophers of his time. *Diogenes Laertius* ſays, that all that was Writ in thoſe Times, was Writ after this manner. *Stilpon*, *Euclide*, *Glaucon*, *Simon* the *Athenian*, and *Xenophon*, all writ ſo. *Alexamenes*, of whom *Ariſtotle* ſpeaks, was the firſt Author of this Way: *Socrates* us'd it as the

Laert. *in* Plat. Athen. *l.* 2.

Ariſt. *in* Poet.

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the most Natural for Instruction, and most proper to clear up the Difficulties which were generally met with in the particular Circumstances of any Material Business under Examination; because in the Series, Order and Coherency of a continued Discourse, many things escap'd those that were to be inform'd; which, in the Intervals of Dialogue, there was Leisure and Opportunity to make a more exact Enquiry into. *Plato*, who deriv'd all his Learning from *Socrates*, found this Method of Teaching the most Conformable to his Genius, which was Sublime and Elevated; but Free, and most agreeable to an Unlimited, Rambling, Incoherent Discourse; in which one is not oblig'd to be ty'd down to one Design, nor bound up to one and the same Subject. The Spirit of *Plato* cou'd not be kept within Bounds, nor subjected to any Rules; all is loose and disjointed, even where he was most Exact. There is so much Variety in his Dialogues, that *Picus Mirandula* assures us, that his own Scholars cou'd not determine precisely, on what one particular Subject he ever Treated: As for Instance, in his Books of *Law*, he talks of the Nature of the Soul, of its Generation, and Immortality; in his *Phædon*, and in his *Timæus*, he explains its Eternity; in his Dialogue of *Menon*, which is a Discourse upon upon *Virtue*, he intermixes a large Treatise of *Geometry*, where he shews, how Virtue may be taught by its Principles, as Geometry is. In his first *Alcibiades*, which is a Discourse about the Nature of Man, he makes a great Digression upon Musick: And thus, in all the Subjects he Treats of, he follows more his own *Genius*, than the Matter in hand. This may be his chief Character; not but that upon

De Var. Doct. Gen. l. 1. c. 4.

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due Reflection, we may perceive, that these Wandrings, these Digressions are not properly Deviations: For we shall find, if we consider them truly, that they comport well, and have a very good Agreement with the Principal Subject; and that he seems, in all outward Appearance, to have no Design, tho' he's always carrying One on in secret. But we must confess, that he might have gone in a more direct Line; and that by making such an uneven and irregular Tour, by moving in such crooked and indirect Paths, he fetches a larger Compass, and takes a wider Course than is requisite, in order to arrive at its propos'd End.

Diogenes is of opinion, that *Plato* made choice of this Manner of Writing, out of a Design to Examine better into Things; by the Expositions he made, and by Questions and Answers. 'Tis upon this Account, that he says, in his *Cratyla's*, that a compleat Logician is he that knows well how to Oppose and Answer; at which *Plato* was excellent, for he was a very great Logician in the Judgment of *Aristotle* himself. But there are two Difficulties to be clear'd about *Plato's* Dialogues: The first is, Whether they contain the Pure and Untainted Doctrine of *Socrates*, as *Plato* himself seems to pretend: The second is, Whether the Conferences which this Philosopher holds with the Persons he introduces in his Dialogues, were true and real.

As to the First Difficulty, there is very great probability, that all that *Plato* says in his Dialogues, came not Pure and Uncompounded from his Master; but that he has intermix'd his own Thoughts with those of *Socrates*, to Authorize his own Doctrine, and give more Weight

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Weight to what he himſelf advances, and and greater Credit to what he had learn'd in his Voyages into *Egypt* and *Italy*, which probably were not altogether unprofitable. *Laertius* is of the ſame Opinion, and ſays in plain Terms, that *Plato has wrote things which* Socrates *never ſaid.* There are five Perſons whom *Plato* introduces in his Dialogues, to declare and explain his Thoughts: *Socrates, Timæus, Parmenides,* the other two, one an *Athenian,* and the other of *Eleates,* are Anonymous. He brings in *Gorgias, Thraſymachus, Callicles, Polus,* and *Protagoras, Euthymedes* and others, only to propoſe what he does not approve of, and wou'd refute: And takes particular care to make every one ſpeak according to his proper Character. Laert. *in* Plat.

As to the ſecond Difficulty, *Athenæus* anſwers it in his eleventh Book, where *Timon* finds fault with *Plato,* for having brought into his Dialogues things that never were. In ſhort, 'tis ſaid, that *Gorgias* having heard that Dialogue recited which bears his Name, declar'd it to be Suppoſititious, and that he had never ſaid a Word of what *Plato* made him ſpeak. *Phædon* proteſted the like upon the ſame occaſion; and 'tis impoſſible that *Parmenides* cou'd ever have had that Diſcourſe with *Socrates* which *Plato* attributes to him, becauſe they liv'd not both at the ſame time. *Socrates* himſelf having heard the Dialogue of *Lyſis* repeated to him, ſays of *Plato* in *Laertius, This young Man makes me very ſelf-conceited.* And *Xenophon* in *Aulugella* aſſures us, that *Socrates* underſtood neither Phyſicks nor Mathematicks, *Xenophon eos mentiri dicit qui diſſertationes de cæli natura aliiſq; diſciplinis Socrati attribuerent: quod cum ſcribit notat Platonem in cujus libris Socrates de Phyſica, Muſica & Geometria diſſerit.* Aul. l. 14. c. 4.

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Puto fore ut cum legeris, mireré id nos locutos, quod nunquam locuti sumus: sed nostri morem Dialogorum. Quæst. Acad. l. 1.

and that the Discourse, which is here carried on under his Name, upon these Sciences, is Fictitious. But the Manner and Character of Dialogue, allows of this Liberty; as *Cicero*, who has taken it in Imitation of *Plato*, has declar'd to *Varro*. *Athenæus*, upon this account, condemns *Plato* for the Injustice he has done *Homer*, in finding fault with him for those Fictions he has mix'd in his Poems, when he himself has great variety of them in his own Dialogues, which are upon Subjects of Philosophy, where nothing but the Truth shou'd be discuss'd, and that too with the nicest Scrutiny, and in the plainest Terms.

The Second Method of *Plato*, which is that of Definition and Division; which he took from *Socrates*, is as an Instrument to the First, but of a more general Use. These are those two most common and ordinary Means he makes use of to establish any thing he has advanc'd. In short, we cannot give others a true *Idea*, nor have our selves a perfect Knowledge of any one thing but by discovering its Nature, which is done by Definition, and the most certain way to arrive to this, is Division. *Laertius*, who ascribes to *Plato*, Induction as a third Method, which he particularly made use of to overthrow whatever he had a Mind to confute; explains it at large in his Third Book, together with that Irony, which *Socrates* brought in every thing that he said, especially when he had to deal with the Sophists. But I shall pass over these things, to come to an Examination of what is more particular, and more close in the Manner of *Plato*.

And this is what I properly call his third Method, which consists in explaining Humane things by Divine, Sensibles by Intellectuals, Parti-

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Particulars by Universals, Images by Idea's, which are the first Models. *Aristotle* assures us, that *Plato* borrow'd this manner of Explanation from *Cratyles*, who had been *Heraclitus* his Scholar, and from *Heraclitus* himself, as *Averroes* affirms: And *Marcilius Ficinus* proposes this Method in his Epistles, where he says, That *Plato*, in the seventh Book of his Commonwealth, declares, that Philosophy consists in nothing else but in raising a Man from what is Corruptible and Perishing, to what is Immutable and Eternal. There is some probability, that *Socrates*, who taught *Plato* this Method, had learn'd it himself from that *Indian*, whom *Eusebius* speaks of; who being at *Athens*, had particular Conferences with *Socrates*. For this *Indian* having demanded of him, what it was in his Opinion to be a Philosopher: He answer'd him, that to know how to live well, was to be a Philosopher. The Stranger, says *Eusebius*, was not satisfied with this Answer; telling him, that he was in a gross Error; and that to have a perfect Knowledge of things Natural, 'twas necessary to begin with things Divine, which so pleas'd *Socrates*, that he often afterwards us'd to say, That there was no better way of coming to the Knowledge of Good in particular, than by the Knowledge of Good in general. This is very agreeable with that Maxim, the *Greeks*, according to *Aristoxenes* his Opinion, receiv'd from the *Indians*, *that the universal Good ought to be most considerable*: And this Maxim, is very reconcileable with what St. *Austin* calls *the way of Wisdom*; which leads Men to the Knowledge of things in their first Principles, and in their Originals by Idea's. That Father took this Method from *Plato*, who had very much applied himself to it: And when we

Qui à sensibilibus tollebant scientiam, quod in perpetuo essent fluxu. Ex Interp. ex Arab. A. l. 3. de an.

Euf. l. 3. de præp. Evan. c. 1.

Principalius est bonum Universi. Ex Euseb. in præp. Evan. ibid. *Via sapientiæ.* Aug. lib. 7. de Trinit.

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have observ'd it throughly and search'd nicely into it, without stopping at our first Scrutiny, without delaying at the very Entrance, as is too often done; we shall find it generally explains things only by the Agreement they have with, and the Relation they bear to their Originals; Particulars by Universals, things Apparent and Visible by things which do not appear and are Invisible: And 'tis particularly upon the account of this Method, that St. *Augustin* ought to pass for a *Platonist*, as may be seen in his Manner of explaining *Grace*. I give this as an Instance, because he of all the Fathers has best explain'd it, and is from thence call'd *the Divine of Grace.*

Grace is a Gift, says he, Sovereignly perfect in the Quality of a Gift. There are three things to be consider'd in a Gift. He that gives, he to whom 'tis given, and the Manner in which 'tis given. He that gives, ought to give of his own, for that is to give in Sovereign Perfection; and he must likewise have it in his Power, and be in a Capacity to give all that he does give: He therefore ought to be Sovereignly Good to give Willingly, and Sovereignly Powerful to give Liberally, and Sovereignly Independent to give without any hopes of a Return: otherwise 'tis Trafficking, and not giving. He to whom 'tis given, ought to Merit nothing of him that gives, for 'twou'd be only Justice if he deserv'd it: And he ought to be in extream necessity, otherwise he might decline and refuse the Gift. Lastly, for the Manner in which 'tis given, it ought to be done freely, for what is given upon Force and Compulsion, is not given but wrested from the Doner: And the Gift ought to prevent the Merit of the Receiver, least it seem a Recompence;

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pence; and to preceed all Deſire, Expectation, and Requeſt, becauſe by ſuch Application and Addreſs it may be merited. All theſe Qualities meet and unite in *Grace*; and above all, in that firſt and moſt important of all Graces, which is the Redemption of Man, they all concur and agree to make it a Gift Sovereignly Perfect. Such is the Treatiſe of Grace in St. *Auguſtin*; and all that he ſays in ſeveral other Parts of his Works may be reduc'd to theſe Principles. In which he has imitated *Plato*, who always us'd himſelf to explain things by their Idea's, reſolving them into the State and Condition in which they ought to be, and not into that in which they are, as he himſelf ſays in his Dialogue of the Sophiſt. After this manner he gives us the Idea of Health in his *Eutyphron*, the Idea of Law in his *Minos*, the Idea of a perfect City in his *Laws*: And in his Books of *Commonwealth*, he propoſes the Idea of univerſal Juſtice in a City, before that in a Citizen.

Thus in the very ſame Books he draws a Model, and ſhews the Ground and Platform of a perfect Government, which well comprehended, is impracticable but to Men in Idea; concerning which *Cicero* drolls upon him ſo agreeable, when he ſays; *That* Cato's *Advice, in Deliberations upon publick Affairs, was ſometimes prejudicial to the State, for he judg'd of the Government of the* Roman *Commonwealth, which was entirely corrupted, with the ſame Severity, as if he had been to give his Opinion in* Plato's *Commonwealth.*

Cato nocet interdum Reipub. dicit enim tanquam in Platonis πολιτείᾳ, non tanquam in Romuli face ſententiam. Epiſt. ad Att. l. 2. Ep. 1.

This Method of Idea's, is that which *Plato* moſt commonly makes uſe of, as being the moſt direct way, in his Judgment, to the true Knowledge of things; becauſe it reduces them to

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their Principle: That which has made the Doctrine of Idea's so famous, and so much divided the Opinions of Wise Men about *Plato*'s Conception of them, is whether these Idea's are Eternal Substances, existing out of the Mind of God, as *Ammonius* the Scholar of *Proclus* believ'd, who wou'd have these Idea's, according to the Doctrine of *Plato*, to be Models entirely distinct and separate from God, upon which he Forms the Ground of his Work. *Albertus Magnus*, St. *Thomas*, and *Trapezuntius* are of the same Opinion. But *Plutarch*, *Alcinous*, *Plotinus*, *Porphyry*, *Proclus*, *Jamblicus*, St. *Augustin*, *Themistius*, *Simplicius*, *Plethon*, and *Marcilius Ficinus* are of a quite different Judgment; they all, with one consent, maintain that *Plato* did not himself believe that these Idea's were Forms existing by themselves, and distinct from the Knowledge of God, as *Ammonius* and some others have represented him. For those separate Idea's are so absur'd, that there is not the least probability that such Thoughts shou'd have ever enter'd into the Mind of a Philosopher, so great a Master of Reason as *Plato* was. So that in his Doctrine, the Idea of the World is nothing else but the Image the Creator has Form'd.

But if all this be so, *Aristotle* then is much to blame, to run out with so much heat against the Idea's of *Plato*, when he himself was of the very same Opinion, as appears in his Books of Metaphysicks and in several other places of his Works; to this I Answer, that *Aristotle* had very good Reason to oppose the Conceptions of *Plato* on these Idea's, for tho' the Opinion of that Philosopher is not defective in the Substance, yet is it in the Manner; because he places in God two Degrees entirely distinct;

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diſtinct; the one of firſt Mind or Underſtanding, the other of firſt Principle of all Beings in quality of a Creator. He pretends, that this firſt Mind or Underſtanding, where all Idea's are Form'd, is the Original from whence the Creator takes his Deſigns; and that, this Principle being itſelf diſtinct from the Creator, the Idea's likewiſe are diſtinct. Thus did *Ariſtotle* upon very good grounds oppoſe this Doctrine; he, who acknowledg'd, in the Eſſence of God, a Simplicity ſo pure, cou'd not ſuffer thoſe compound and different Idea's of *Plato*, which diſtinguiſh'd the Mind or Underſtanding of God, from God Himſelf. 'Twas this Diſtinction *Ariſtotle* levell'd at, in engaging againſt the Idea's, as Forms exterior to that firſt Being, which admits of no mixture in its Nature. This is the Opinion of *Ariſtotle*, contrary to the Idea's of *Plato*: though *Simplicius* believes, that he differ'd not from *Plato* on this Queſtion, but on the Manner of Expreſſing it: But 'tis not likely, that a Man of ſuch ſolid Judgment as *Ariſtotle*, ſhou'd delight to fight with Words, or break forth into ſuch Heats againſt particular Expreſſions. 'Twas neceſſary in this place, thus far, to clear the Doctrine of *Plato*'s Idea's, which occaſion'd ſo famous a Difference between him and *Ariſtotle*, but to return to my Subject.

ὁ δημιουργὸς, τὸ νοητὸν. Plot. l. 3. Enn. 5.

We may find in *Plato* a Fourth Method more Dark and Abſtruſe than the former Three, which conſiſts in explaining the Truth of things by their Figures. This *Plato* practis'd to gain Eſteem, and bring his Doctrine into greater Veneration, by rendering it more Myſterious under the Veils, with which he cover'd it. The chief Interpreters of *Plato*, have added to their Maſter's Opinion in this Point. *Marcilius Ficinius*

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Proclus, *Jamblicus*, *Porphyrius* in Plat. l. de Rep. *Quæ scripsit Plato de anima & de ejus circuitu aliter intelligi debent quam verba sonant.* Fic. in Plat. Theol. l. 7. c. 4.

Ficinus says, That *Plato*, in treating upon Subjects of Importance, always has something Allegorical; and moreover affirms, that that Figure of the Soul which he explains by Numbers, in his *Timæus*, is a Mystery yet unknown to his Commentators; and that, in his *Epinomis*, there is a Riddle, not to this Day unfolded. The Birth of Love, in the *Banquet*; the War between the *Athenians* and the People of the *Atlantick* Ocean, which he mentions in his *Critias*; the Chariot of the Soul, its Wings, its Horses, and the Coachman he has given it, in the *Phædra*; the Fable of the Generation of Animals, by *Prometheus*, and *Epimetheus*, in the *Protagoras*, are all pure Allegories, if we'll believe *Origen*, *Porphyry*, and *Proclus*; and *Ficinus* makes the very same Observations on the *Parmenides*.

Socrates practis'd this Method, in imitation of *Pythagoras*, particularly to confound the Arrogance of the Sophists, by concealing under these Figures what he truly and certainly knew: Whilst the Sophists with much pride affected to Discourse upon, and set forth things they knew nothing of. *Plato* too, learn'd this Symbolical Philosophy from the *Ægyptians*, who being much given up to Superstition, explain'd themselves, even in Matters of Religion, by Figures; which in things Sacred, seem'd to them a more Grave, Serious, and Respectful way of treating upon Divine Subjects. Their Priests, in whose Hands were the Mysteries of their Religion, authoriz'd this Method to support their Credit, and secure to themselves Veneration, by the Respect that was due to those Holy Things, which they hid from the Eyes of the People, lest by being known, they shou'd become profane. They were

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were of Opinion too, as *Jamblicus* has obſerv'd, in one of his Treatiſes, where he explains their Myſteries, that they were oblig'd to this way of proceeding, in Imitation of Nature, which under the exterior Veil of the Body, conceals the Perfections of the Mind.

However it were, this Manner of Explanation was ſo firmly eſtabliſh'd in *Ægypt*, that it is very probable, that the *Ægyptians*, being driven out of their Country by *Cambyſes* by Conqueſt, and being afterwards diſpers'd throughout all *India*, introduc'd there likewiſe this Method of writing by *Hieroglyphicks*, which is ſtill in Uſe in ſome parts of that Country; and as far even as *China*, there is ſome agreement with that way of writing, which was formerly obſerv'd by the *Ægyptians*. For they explain'd, as I have ſaid before, their Thoughts by the Figures of Birds, Animals, and other ſenſible things, which they ador'd as Deities; upon which account the *Greeks* gave thoſe Figures the Name of *Hieroglyphicks*. But I do not pretend to aſſert, that that Symbolical way of writing moſt commonly us'd by *Plato*, is univerſally practis'd by him in all his Works: For he ſpeaks ſome things very plain and eaſie, and which may be underſtood by all the World: though there are ſome things which cannot be underſtood by any Body, they being altogether Allegorical: And *Proclus*, his moſt exact and faithful Interpreter, declares, that in many Places he has wrote very unintelligibly. 'Twas the Cuſtom in *Socrates* School to write all things Figuratively, as appears by that famous Table of *Cebes*, who was one of the moſt Celebrated of *Socrates* his Scholars. For this Table, which has been ſo much eſteem'd by all Poſterity, is only a plain Repreſentation of Humane

ἄπαρα καλύπτως, Procl.

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Humane Life, under those various Figures, of which it is compos'd. This is the most particular and distinct Account I can give of the Method of *Plato*; let us now proceed to that of *Aristotle*.

CHAP. II.

Of the Method of Aristotle.

'TIS not much to be wonder'd at, that *Plato*'s Method was so Various and Uncertain; for since his first Maxim was, To be Assur'd of Nothing, but to Doubt of All Things; he had no need of any Principles, that had nothing to Establish. *Aristotle* and *Xenocrates* were *Plato*'s first Scholars; but *Aristotle* forsook this manner of Doubting, and endeavour'd to clear up things, by searching them to the Bottom; so that he form'd to himself a Method more unperplex'd, and more certain too, than that of *Plato*'s; because he laid down such and such Principles. The First of these Principles is, that there is a Science, contrary to the Opinion of *Plato*, who believ'd there was none, because he thought that there was nothing certain in Nature: He held, that the Soul of Man was obscur'd, by entring into the Body, as a Light is extinguish'd, by being plac'd in dirt, or clay: That the Knowledge which the Soul has of all things, by the Nobleness of its Divine and Immortal Extraction, is entirely lost by its Commerce

In Platonis libris nihil affirmatur, quæritur de omnibus, nihil certi dicitur. Cic. *Acad. quæst. l.* 1.

Utrique Platonis ubertati pleni, certam disciplinæ formulam composuerant: Illam autem Socraticam de omnibus, nulla affirmatione adhibita, consuetudinem disserendi reliquerunt. Cic. *Acad. Quæst.*

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with Matter; and that upon this very Account, the Knowledge it obtains, by the Uſe and Experience of Things, is not a True and Perfect Knowledge, but a bare Remembrance of ſeveral Tranſactions in the Common and Ordinary Courſe of Nature, as *Plotinus* explains it. *Ariſtotle* was of the quite contrary Opinion: He believ'd, that the Soul did not derive from itſelf any Principle of Knowledge, when it was united to the Body; but that it Acquir'd it entirely by the Aſſiſtance of the Senſes, which are as ſo many eſtabliſh'd Meſſengers, to bring in Intelligence of what paſſes without; and that from this particular Knowledge, which was convey'd to it by the Miniſtry of the Senſes, it formed of it ſelf, by the Operation of its Underſtanding, a Knowledge univerſal, certain and evident, which is *Science* properly ſo called.

Thus the Firſt Method of *Ariſtotle* is directly oppoſite to that of *Plato*. For *Plato* pretends, that to arrive at the Knowledge of Things, we are to begin at Univerſals, and ſo deſcend to Particulars: And *Ariſtotle* will have it, that the Knowledge of Things Particular and Senſible, carries us to the Knowledge of Things Univerſal and Immaterial; being perſuaded from this Principle, which he holds for an infallible Truth, *That nothing can enter into the Soul, but by the Senſes*: For Man, being made and faſhion'd as he is, cannot judge of things Senſible with any Certainty, but by the Senſes. The Maxim of *Plato* is, that Things may be known by *Idea's*, which are as the Firſt Originals; and that of *Ariſtotle*, that Things may be diſcover'd by their Effects, which are the Expreſſions and Copies of thoſe *Idea's*.

Ariſtoteles ad ſenſibilia traduxit, quæ Pythagorici de numeris & ſubſtantiis intelligibilibus dixere. Beſſar. *Card. in Cælum, l. 2. cap. 4.*

Nihil eſt in intellectu, quod non fuerit prius in ſenſu. Ex. Aver. *text. in* Ariſt. *l. 1. poſt Analit. 13.*

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The Order which *Plato* observes, is that of Nature itself, proceeding from the Cause to the Effects: That of *Aristotle*, is the Order of the Knowledge of the Soul, which finds not out the Cause, but by the Effect. This is *Aristotle*'s First Method, which he took from *Archytas* the Scholar of *Pythagoras*, and which *Archytas* had learnt of *Dexippus*. This *Dexippus*, in the Order of the Categories, of which he made the first Draught, borrow'd the Substance from the Head of other Categories, as the most Material and most Sensible. But because this Knowledge of Things Universal, form'd from the Knowledge of Things Particular, has a Principle which is subject to Error and Mistake, *Aristotle* has found out a Way to rectifie this Principle, and make it Infallible, by means of his Universal Organ.

This is the Second Method of *Aristotle*, and 'tis in this Organ that he establishes the Art of *Demonstration*, by that of *Syllogism*: For Demonstration is his most common and ordinary Method, as *Ammonius* assures us; and *Aristotle* himself calls the Art of Syllogism his Principal Method: His *Logick* serves only to establish this Method; all that he says, has a Relation to it. The Book of *Categories* treats of Parts very distant and remote, which ought to enter into the Composition of a Syllogism, and which are Terms, in their Natural Signification. The Book of *Interpretation* treats of the Matter near to Syllogism; that is, of Terms, as far as they are capable of Binding, to serve for *Proposition*, which is the Second Operation of the Mind. The Book of *Analyticks* considers a Syllogism according to the Essential Parts that compose it; that is, its Mat-

Ammon. in vita Arist.

Μέθοδον εὑρεῖον ἀφ' ἧς ἀνδυνησόμεθα συλλογίσασθαι περὶ παντὸς, *Top. cap. ult.*

o n. Ac.

Matter, and Form: And how the Matter of a Syllogiſm may be Neceſſary, or Contingent, or Fallacious, is explain'd according to thoſe Differences in the ſequel of thoſe Books. The Book of *Topicks* ſerves to clear and unravel the Matter, when 'tis only probable, or contingent. The Book of *Sophiſms* explains what is Falſe, and what is Equivocal: And the Book of the *Poſterior Analyticks*, ſets forth that which is Certain and Neceſſary. This is an exact Account of *Ariſtotle*'s Method, the moſt perfect, and the moſt compleat of all Methods. For in effect, Demonſtration made in the Principles, and in that Manner this Philoſopher has conceiv'd it, is the only Infallible Rule to guide and direct us, in our Attainment of the Sciences; and the only Way the Mind of Man has to arrive at that Certainty which he ſearches for in the Knowledge of Things; and the only Inſtrument proper to Rectifie our Reaſon, by the diſcerning of Truth from Falſhood. 'Tis this that has ſo recommended the Uſe of this Method to all thoſe that have Studied the Sciences, and gain'd the Univerſal Approbation of all Ages, that have had the Knowledge of it, 'Tis this that has render'd this Method ſo Advantagious and Beneficial to our Religion, being more peculiarly adapted and accommodated than all others, for the Confirmation and Eſtabliſhment of its Doctrine; which made St. *Jerom* ſay, *That all the Artifice and Perverſneſs in Human Reaſoning, and all the Force and Power that Profane Science can gain in the World, may be defeated and overthrown by* Ariſtotle's *Method.*

But one of the moſt common Methods *Ariſtotle* makes uſe of in his Demonſtrations, is, as *Averroes* obſerves, to Reſolve all the Difficulties

Quicquid in ſæculo perverſorum eſt dogmatum, quicquid ad terrenam ſapientiam pertinet, & putatur eſſe robuſtum, hoc dialecticâ arte ſubvertetur. Com. *in Ezechiel.*

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culties that he meets with, before he has establish'd his Proposition: And this Admirable Art of his, in Confirming with Solid and Substantial Arguments, what he advances; makes him despise that Method of *Division*, which he judges too weak and feeble to carry him to a Demonstration. For this Reason he calls it *A Defective and Imperfect Syllogism*, tho' 'twas very much us'd by *Plato*. Not but that *Aristotle* does often use the *Analysis* in all those Matters, where he is oblig'd to descend to a particular Account of Things, in order to examine them to the Bottom, and from thence to gather a more distinct Knowledge. The Esteem he had for this Method, appears from his often Quoting his *Analyticks* in his other Books.

'Tis by this Discussion, that he searches deep into the things he treats of, and discovers that which is most Essential; while others see only the Outside, and sit down contented with the bare Superficies. 'Tis true indeed, that those Maxims which *Aristotle* establishes, in Subjects he has examin'd, are so profound, that they appear not certain, but to those that know how to penetrate into them. This makes the greatest part of his Definitions seem either too obscure, or not truly just and adequate: The Mind yields not its Assent to them without some Resistance, being at first Sight not throughly convinc'd. But the more we meditate upon them, the more Indubitable they appear, because they are always founded upon Nature and Experience. And this made one of his Interpreters, that understood him best, Alexand. Aphrod. say, that *The Doctrine of* Aristotle *had, for its common Foundation, the General Opinion of all People, and Good Sense.*

Yet

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Yet it muſt be granted, that *Ariſtotle*, tho' a Perſon of the deepeſt Penetration, often by this Profundity of Judgment, deprives himſelf of the Liberty of Explaining his Notions with that Perſpicuity which is requiſite and neceſſary for a Philoſopher that is to Inſtruct others. 'Tis a Fault he is moſt commonly charg'd with; *Themiſthius* carries the Accuſation higher, when he ſays, that 'tis downright Folly and Madneſs, to pretend to find out the True Senſe of *Ariſtotle*, in all he ſays; which however is falſe, unleſs in relation to thoſe things, which he himſelf has hardly determin'd. *Simplicius* believes, that *Ariſtotle* us'd this Obſcurity to veil his Conceptions, inſtead of thoſe Tables and Symbols, which he approv'd not of in *Plato*; becauſe a Philoſopher that endeavours to Inſtruct us in the Truth, ſhou'd diſcover it by Senſible Effects. And becauſe Truth it ſelf cannot be diſguis'd under the Colour and Shadow of Tables, without being ſubject to Illuſion, by the Equivocal Explications that may be given it: And laſtly, becauſe Truth, to appear in all its Purity, ought to manifeſt itſelf by the moſt convincing Evidence imaginable. Theſe are the Reaſons he gives in his *Metaphyſicks*, why he condemns that Symbolical Philoſophy of *Plato*. When *Ariſtotle* therefore expreſſes himſelf not with that uſual Clearneſs, this proceeds not from the Qualifications of his Mind, which was naturally deep and profound, but from a pure Affectation to be Obſcure and Myſterious, that he might not be underſtood without Explanation; which he himſelf has ſufficiently declar'd by that Title he has given one of his Books, which he calls the *Acroamaticks*, L. 3. Metaphyſ. c. 4.

because it must be listened to with great Attention, to be well understood.

But I find, in his Manner of Explaining Himself, one Excellency, which I cannot enough admire: For besides all other Perfections, which he shows himself Master of, he is the most Modest, and the least Positive and Assuming of all Philosophers. He scarce ever Asserts any thing he Advances, he barely says, it appears so to him, and seems not to affirm what he thinks, without some Hesitation. When *Aphrodisæus* or *Averroes* speak of his Doctrine, they represent it not as of itself Evident and Unconteſtable; and its Author, as never speaking confidently, but wisely, doubting, and with an admirable Reserve; as if he were always under some Difficulties, to decide Right; which is the genuine Effect of a profound Knowledge; for to be forward and presumptuous in Asserting things, discovers great Weakness. His *It may be's*, which he so often inserts, in all he says, appear to me so curious and exquisite; and I find them so proper, and becoming the Character of a Profound and Learned Man, who being far from venting Airy Notions, has Modesty enough to distrust his own Lights; that I set a greater Value upon *Aristotle's* Reservedness and Moderation, than upon his Profoundness and Knowledge; for this is the Virtue of an Exalted Soul. Great *Genius's* deliberate and hesitate, whilst Little ones are quick and nimble in giving their Decisions; because they have not Light enough to doubt. But *Aristotle* is not of this eager and hasty Temper; he fairly acknowledges in his Book of *Generation*, that he shou'd be scarce able to clear those Difficulties he had propos'd. He tells us ingenuously

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nuouſly in his *Meteors*, that the Cauſes he has aſſign'd for the Riſe and Progreſs of Comets, are not to him ſatisfactory; and in other Matters, which he has taken under Examination, he gives us his Reſolutions, only as ſo many Doubts. This ſeems to me, to be an unparallell'd Candour, a frank and open Sincerity, without Example, and which I cannot ſufficiently admire. Thus having given you an Inſight into the Method of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, it remains, that we Examine their Doctrine, to carry on the Compariſon; and this is the Third Part.

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The Doctrine of PLATO and ARISTOTLE.

PART III.

THE Doctrine of *Plato* and *Aristotle* is so extensive and so profound, that one wou'd think that God had sent these Two Philosophers into the World, to be Examples and Patterns of Wisdom to the Wise, and to give Instructions to the whole Earth. In short, they were both of them ignorant in but a few things; and their very Thoughts may fairly be acknowledg'd as the Rules of all Arts, and the Principles of all Sciences. But because Philosophy alone is uncapable of making Men Wise, by the certain Knowledge it gives of Things; and because that alone applies itself to the Perfecting of the Mind; whilst other Sciences are taken up in Exercising the Manners, and in Refining the Imagination: Therefore in examining their Doctrine, I shall only consider it with Relation to Philosophy, and in Reference to the several Parts of that Noble System. 'Tis this that frees the Mind from Errors by *Logick*, and the Heart from Passions by *Morality*; to dispose Men by this Preparation, to the Knowledge of things Natural by *Physicks*, and to the Contemplation of things Supernatural by *Meta-*

Nihil tantus vir ignorare potuit. Macrob. *in* Arist. *Finis humani intellectus, Aristoteles.* Hieronym. *adv.* Jovin. *l.* 1.

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Metaphysicks. These are the four Parts of which Philosophy is compos'd; and, according to the Order of these Parts, I shall examine the Philosophy of *Plato* and *Aristotle*.

CHAP. I.

The Logick of Plato.

PLATO has writ nothing, which bears the Name of Dialect or Logick, as this part of Philosophy was afterwards call'd; because *Socrates* did lightly esteem it. 'Tis true indeed, *Plotinus* has writ a Book of the Dialect of *Plato*, but has laid down no natural Train of Precepts to establish that Art: And *Apuleius* undertaking to treat of the Philosophy of *Plato*, mentions only his Ethicks and Physicks; what he says of Logick is taken out of the Book of the Interpretation which *Aristotle* writ. But, after all, if we make a diligent search after the Logick of *Plato*, we shall find he had some; the End and Design of which was to deliver the Mind from Error and Opinion, and to introduce a Science: which Science was nothing else but that remembrance of things he advises his Followers to in his *Philebus*, in his *Menon*, in his Books of *Commonwealth*, and in several other places of his Dialogues.

Facta est Ars disserendi quam minimè probabat Socrates. Cic. Acad. 1.

Alcino. cap. 5. de Doct. Plat.

Plat. l. 6. c. 7. de Rep. in Sophist. & aliis locis.

So that the first, nay, the chief and principal Work, about which *Plato*'s Logick is employ'd, is, to purifie the Mind, and dispose it to a perfect Knowledge of things by their Idea's: As for Instance, it leads the Mind to the Knowledge of Good, by the true Idea of

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Good; to the Knowledge of Beauty, by the Idea of Beauty: For the sole Idea's of things are capable of giving that certain Knowledge which composes a Science, because they are immoveable and eternal, when all things else are subject to change. The Senses themselves, by which is convey'd to us all the Knowledge we can pretend to, are treacherous and deceitful. This is the End and Scope of *Plato*'s Dialect; and the most ordinary Means he has proposed to himself to arrive at this End, are *Division*, *Definition*, *Induction*, and *Supposition*.

By *Division*, of which he treats very largely in his *Politicks*; he makes up the true *Analysis* of *Genus* in its several *Species*, and discovers, by this first Method, the essential Difference of every thing; this is the most certain and infallible way of coming to a *Definition*, as *Alcinous* observes: and a *Definition* admits us to the Knowledge of the very Essence. This made *Plato* say in his *Cratylus*, that the Logician was only capable of giving Names to Things, because he alone understood their Natures. By *Induction* he sets up Singulars against Universals, and gives us a View of the Contrarieties of Particulars from General Oppositions. By *Supposition*, which is his last Means, he discovers, as 'twere by Degrees, the Perfections and Imperfections of every thing; and, by Example, the Beauty of the Mind, by that of the Body; and the Excellency of our Duty, by that of our Mind. *Alcinous* explains this Doctrine more at large, in his Treatise of the Doctrine of *Plato*. *Plotinus* tells us the Method this Philosopher took to make good his Sophisms, which was by the Explication and Distinction of Propositions, as *Socrates* had taught

Alcin. c. 5 & 6.
Plotin. l. 3. en. 5. c. 5.

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taught him; though *Socrates*, according to *Ariſtotle*'s Opinion, was more ingenious at creating Difficulties by his Queſtions, than at ſolving them by his Anſwers. This is, in ſhort, the whole Art of *Plato*'s Dialect, as may be eaſily gather'd from his Dialogues of *Cratylus*, *Parmenides*, and *Protagoras*, and from thoſe of the *Sophiſt* of *Euthymedes*, and of the *Politicks*, and is to be found in ſeveral other Places, without Order or Connexion.

'Tis not in the leaſt to be doubted but that *Plato* had ſome Knowledge of the three Operations of the Mind: He has diſtinguiſh'd them in his *Sophiſt*; nor is it to be at all queſtion'd but that he knew the *Categories* too, having ſeen the Work of that *Archytas*, who was *Pythagoras* his Scholar, and the firſt that writ of them. But whatever *Alcinous* may ſay, he never knew the Form of a Syllogiſm, nor the Diſtinction of the three Figures of Argumentation: *Ariſtotle* was the Author of them, as all wiſe Men are agreed. Let us therefore proceed to his Logick.

CHAP. II.

The Logick of Ariſtotle.

THE Logick of *Ariſtotle* is, without all doubt, more diſtinct and more methodical than that of *Plato*; and though *Ariſtotle* made uſe of the Logick of *Zenon* of *Elea*, who had writ three Books of that Art long before him; though he had receiv'd great Aſſiſtance from the Dialect of *Euclide*, of *Megara*, *Socra-*

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tes his Scholar; yet it is most certain, that he better understood the Matter of this Art, search'd farther into the depth of it, set all its Parts in a clearer Light, and rang'd them in a more agreeable Order, than any of the Philosophers that had writ before. It may be said indeed that * *Archytas*, *Zenon*, *Euclide*, and *Plato*, invented the Matter of Dialect: but *Aristotle* alone gave it a Form: and to his Honour be it spoken, that he alone perfected the Syllogism, which the others knew nothing of before him. 'Twas he, † in effect, that invented the Art of a perfect Demonstration, by confining the extensive and almost infinite Capacity of the Soul of Man within the Limits of three Operations, as within fix'd and stated Bounds, beyond which that divine Particle of Air, free and independent as it is, can never pass. 'Twas he likewise that discover'd the Secret of rectifying their Operations, and of composing a determinate Matter for Syllogism.

'Twas he, in fine, that reduc'd into three Figures which he had invented, all the imaginable Connexions of two Terms, which compose the Proposition with the common Term, to establish the Form of a Demonstration, a Form always directly concluding by one Rule, which carries with it as certain Characters of Infallibility, as the Demonstrations of the most exact Geometry. 'Tis in the fourth Chapter of the first Book of the *Analyticks*, that he explains this new Art of the Construction of Syllogism; and 'tis by this wonderful Art that this Philosopher found out a way to give the same Rule to Thought, which is entirely spiritual, as he had prescrib'd to Quantity, which is entirely material; and to establish in the Rea-

*περὶ δὲ τοῦ συλλογίζεσθαι παντελῶς οὐδὲν εἴχομεν πρότερον λέγειν. Elench. c. ult.

†*In Dialecticis nihil penitus, ut ipse testatur Aristoteles, ab antiquis scriptum aut dictum erat.* Trapez. in comparat. Plat. & Arist. l. 1.

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Reaſonings, and in the Operations of a Human Soul, which are eſſentially free and contingent, an Infallibility equal to that which we meet with in Geometrical Demonſtrations, which are eſſentially neceſſary. This to me appears ſo worthy of Admiration, that I find nothing comparable to it in all the moſt ſurprizing Productions of the Mind; for what can be conceiv'd more ingenious than this Invention of the three Figures of a Syllogiſm, which form themſelves from the different Situation of two Terms with the common Term of which it is compoſed? And what can be imagin'd more admirable than the Certainty and Evidence of the Concluſion after the two Premiſes, when there is nothing vicious neither in the Matter, nor in the Form.

Truly when I reflect upon the univerſal Arrangement of *Ariſtotle's Logick*, and that wonderful Order of all the conſtituent Parts thereof: when I conſider the great Caution this Philoſopher has taken in the general Preparation of the Matter he deſigns for Argument; that is, when I obſerve the whole Work fix'd and eſtabliſh'd in the moſt firm and ſolid manner the Mind of Man can form; and upon a Foundation the moſt uncertain that can be imagin'd, which is Thoughts and Words; I am ſurpriz'd at the Greatneſs of his *Genius* that cou'd conceive ſo prodigious a Deſign. What cou'd not he have done, that cou'd fix the Character of Solidity and Conſiſtency upon a thing ſo weak and infirm? This Work is encompaſs'd with Difficulties, which appear'd inſuperable; it removes the Ambiguity of Words, by giving a clear Explication of what was equivocal and what not, and affixing to the Terms their proper and natural Senſe. This is a Work very

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ry necessary to dispel the Confusion of Thought, which so darkens the Mind with the Multiplicity of *Idea's*, to unravel those inextricable Foldings of the Operations of the Mind, and to disperse that almost inevitable Crowd and Tumult of divers *Species* of Particular, Universal, Conditional, Absolute, Complex, Incomplex, Affirmative, Negative, Model, Equivalent and Contradictory Propositions: to the End that the Mind may be accustomed to a naked and simple Representation, that it may form to it self Objects, whereby to judge of things according as they are really in themselves. In short, it so discovers the Disguisings and Artifices of the Understanding, which are innumerable, as to remedy all the Defaults and all the Illusions of Argumentation, and to bring to light all the Fallacies and Impostures of all the Sophisms, of all the Paralogisms imaginable.

Nor is this all; for this Great Man, after having fully discover'd what lay most obscure and most retir'd within the Mind, and, by the Art he had invented, confin'd the Infinity of Thought within the Compass of three Operations; he found out a way to rectifie these three Operations in all the Parts of his Logick: He has corrected the Faults of the first in his Book of *Categories* in which he teaches us how to distinguish the Idea's of every thing according to that natural Order which the Understanding ought to observe in the Conception of them: He has reform'd the Defaults of the second Operation, which is the Proposition in his Book of the *Interpretation*, and in his Treatise of *Postpredicaments* and *Antipredicaments*; where he explains the Signification of Terms, and the Contingent or Essential Con-

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Connexion of the one with the other. Laſtly, he redreſſes what is defective in the Third Operation, in his Books of *Topicks*, *Analyticks*, and *Sophiſms*; and in theſe he eſtabliſhes the Conſtruction of Three Syllogiſms, the *Sophiſtick*, which cauſes Error, the *Dialectick*, which creates Opinion, and the *Demonſtrative*, which is the only Perfect Syllogiſm, both as to the quality of its Matter and its Form, and which alone produces Science. Thus all the whole Deſign and Driſt of *Ariſtotle's* Logick tends to one and the ſame End, *viz.* the Eſtabliſhment of Demonſtration by Syllogiſm, which is, the Univerſal Principle of all Sciences. For nothing can be aſſuredly known without this Art, for by Demonſtration, we have not only a perfect Certainty, that the thing is, but likewiſe a perfect Knowledge, of the Reaſon why it is, which is the moſt Eſſential Product of all Science.

So that the Logick of all other Philoſophers both Ancient and Modern, are good no otherwiſe than as they bear a Relation to that of *Ariſtotle's*; and whoever examines them, will find, that they are defective in thoſe very things, in which they agree not with the Logick of this Philoſopher; which ought to be the Rule and Standard of all other Logicks, being founded on the Art of Demonſtration. But is it certain, that *Ariſtotle* is the true Author of this Art? I muſt confeſs that, to prepare the Matter, he was oblig'd to the *Categories* of *Archytas* and *Ocellus*; that he learn'd from *Democrates* and *Socrates*, the Uſe of *Definition*, as a means to arrive at this Art; that he borrow'd from the *Cratylus* of *Plato*, the *Diſtinction* of Terms in their proper Signification; that he took from the Dialogue of *Euthydemes*, part of the Obſer-

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Observations he has made in his Book of *Sophisms*; that the first Knowledge of the Method of Consequences, and of all that captious Art of *Dilemma's* was deriv'd down to him from *Zenon Eleatis*; that *Timæus* of *Locris* gave him the first *Idea* of a Syllogism, which was afterwards brought to Perfection by *Zeno*, as appears in the Comentary of *Proclus*, on the *Parmenides* of *Plato*: And that, lastly, he met with the first Appearances of Demonstration in the self-evident Propositions of *Timæus* and *Theetetes*. But after all, 'tis not in the least to be question'd but that *Aristotle* was the first Author of the Form of Syllogism, and of the Method of perfectly rectifying the Matter by discovering the Confusion of Thoughts, the Equivocation of Words, the Artifice and Disguise of Propositions, of which they Form'd the Sophisms. All the Principal Interpreters of *Aristotle*, are of this Opinion. *Aristotle* himself owns it in the End of his Books of *Dialect*, and *Cicero* acknowledges as much in the Book of his *Topicks*.

Demonstrandi viam rationemq; certissimam quis unquam ante Aristotelem explicavit? Trapezunt. l. 1. de comp. Plat. & Arist.

Aristoteles Dialecticæ artis universæ & inventæ & perfectæ auctorem se prædicavit. Ram. c. 7. l. 1. Schol. dialect. Ammon. in Arist. vita Philop. c. 22. in analyt. Alex. Aph. Simpl. Averroës. Theod. Logot.

The Difference then between the Logick of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, is, that *Plato*'s is dispers'd through all his Works without any Order or Design, without Principles, and almost without Method, and *Aristotle*'s reduc'd into a regular Form in his Books of *Dialect*, where it is firmly establish'd in all its Parts: And *Gassendus* had not perhaps found it so imperfect by the Supplement of *Porphyry*, which he look'd upon as a necessary Introduction, had he but consider'd that this very Treatise which is prefix'd to *Aristotle*'s Logick, is taken from *Aristotle*'s *Metaphysicks*, from whence *Porphyry* extracted it: And 'tis very probable, that this Supplement had been altogether needless, had there been nothing

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thing lost of the Books of *Aristotle's Logick*, of which *Diogenes Laertius* makes mention. Proceed we now to their Morals.

CHAP. III.

The Morals of Plato.

'TIS this part of Philosophy that teaches Men to live well, as Logick teaches them to think well, *Socrates* was the first Author of Morality, tho' *Æsop* had long before his time given us some Lessons that were very Entertaining, and well receiv'd by all People, upon the Account of those pleasant Fables, by which, with a wonderful Art, he has made them so agreeable, that they are still in very great Request. But there is nothing so settled or establish'd in the Morals of *Æsop*, as in those of *Plato*, who has made Morality an Art, and founded it upon certain Principles, of which we shall here give you an Abstract taken from several Parts of his Dialogues of *Phædon*, in which he treats of the Soul; of *Philebus*, where he treats of Pleasure; of the *Banquet*, where he describes Love; of *Phædra*, where he discourses concerning Good; of *Menon*, which is in praise of Virtue; of *Laches*, where he treats of Temperance; of the First *Hippias*, where he talks of Honesty; of the Second, where he speaks of Lying; and from what he says of Man, in his First and Second *Alcibiades*; and above all from his Books of *Commonwealth*, where he settles the Principal Maxims of Morality, according to the Opinion of *Marcel. Ficinus*. 'Tis in

Socrates mihi videtur, quod constat inter omnes, primus à rebus occultis & ab ipsâ naturâ involutis avocavisse Philosophiam, ut de virtutibus & vitiis quæreret. Cic. Tusc. l. 1.

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in these Books particularly, that he establishes the End of Humane Actions by the first Principle of his Morality. For Man cannot Act in Conformity to the Light of Reason, without proposing some End to his Actions, which ought to be the Motive and Principle to influence them. The End of Man (says he) in every Action is his Good, and the ultimate End of all his Actions is his Sovereign Good, no other Good being able perfectly to satisfie the Infinite Capacity of his Desires. The only Sovereign Good (says *Plato*) is the Sovereign Being, because that comprehends all other Good, and may be possess'd and enjoy'd by the Understanding; and the Will of Man being, beyond all dispute, Sovereignly Intelligible, and Sovereignly Aimable. Virtue, in his Opinion, is the only way that leads to the Possession of this Good, by subduing the Motions of the Appetite, which are directly contrary to it. 'Tis Virtue (says he) that Compleats and Perfects the Man by guiding and directing him in his Duty towards God by Religion, and towards his Fellow Creatures by Society and Friendship. He distinguishes the different Species of Friendship, and reckons Love in the Number, he explains the Effects of pure and undefil'd, and of corrupt and debauch'd Love; the Love of a Husband towards his Wife, the Love of a Father towards his Children, the Love of a Citizen towards a Citizen and a Stranger, and in short, that general Friendship which is the bond of all Society; of which he gives us a perfect *Idea* in his Books of *Commonwealth.*

He observes likewise in the same Place, several Marks and Tokens of that Principle of Honour, which is the true practical Virtue of

Civil

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Civil Morality; and ſhows the Young *Alcibiades*, how that a Man of Honour does not enough in barely appearing ſo, but he muſt avoid likewiſe being tranſported or elevated with a Conceit of his own Excellencies. Tho' he had the Glory of making the moſt admirable Verſes, and were a Poet equal to *Homer*, yet he declares, he wou'd not be like him in this ridiculous Quality, of vainly imagining himſelf conſiderable upon any trifling Account. And in his *Gorgias* he proteſts, that he ſhou'd not think it ſo valuable a thing to become Maſter of all *Greece* by his Eloquence, as *Demoſthenes* was by his: ſince he found that in that little Empire, the Orator had acquir'd ſuch an Air of Uſurpation, which he cou'd by no means approve of, being ſo very nice and delicate himſelf in his own Morals; and moſt certain it is, that there was never any Syſtem of Morality more exact than his, or more proper to Form a Man of true Honour.

In the Abridgment of his *Laws*, he conſiders whether a Man may be Sovereignly Happy, which is the End of all his Morality; and after a ſtrict Examination, he concludes, contrary to the Opinion of ſome Philoſophers in his time, that in Effect he may; otherwiſe the moſt natural and ſincere of all his Deſires wou'd prove falſe and unprofitable; but he acknowledges at the ſame time, that he cannot be perfectly happy in this Life, whilſt the Body and Soul, whoſe Intereſts are ſo different and counter to one another, are thus intimately united. He cannot be happy therefore till after Death, when all Men ſhall have their reward proportionable to their good or ill Conduct here. In his Dialogue of *Gorgias*, he ſpeaks of a Judge, who ſhall pronounce Sentence

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tence after this Life upon every Man according to his deserts. In the Tenth Book of his Republick, he treats very largely of the Rewards and Punishments of Souls after Death. In his *Phedon* he tells us, that this Life is only a preparatory State, an Introduction to another more perfect, and that Philosophy teaches a Man how to dye well, by teaching him how to govern his Passions. This is in short the whole Scope and Design, and this a true and impartial Detail of *Plato*'s Morals, as may be collected from his Works, where they are scatter'd up and down without any Order or Connexion.

CHAP. IV.

The Morals of Aristotle.

THE Morals of *Aristotle* are more plain and natural, and simple, and more agreeable to the Truth, and yet appear with less Splendor than those of *Plato*; though at the same time they are more solid, and more admir'd and follow'd, of which we shall endeavour to make an Abridgment. In the Ten Books which *Aristotle* has writ to his Son *Nicomachus*, he makes it his business to find out what is the ultimate End of Man, in which his true Happiness should wholly consist; and having concluded that there is one grand Wheel that sets all the lesser in Motion, one great End to the attaining of which all our Actions are influenc'd and directed, he declares, that it is neither the pleasure of Sense nor Riches, nor any other goods of the Body, nor Honours,

nor

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nor Virtue it self, because all these Goods bear a Relation to another Good; and *true Beatitude* (says he) *is a Good universally desir'd by all the World, which we desire for it self, and for which we desire all other Goods.* This is the Definition he gives of it; and as this Good cannot be acquir'd but by Virtue, he explains what Virtue is. *'Tis a Habit of doing well, consisting in a Medium between the two extreams of Vice.* He shews us what this *Medium* is, in the Instances of *Fortitude*, *Justice*, *Prudence* and *Temperance*, which are the Principal Virtues in his System of Morality. As for Example; the *Medium* that makes the Virtue of Temperance, regulates our Pain and Pleasure, and reduces them both to a just Temperament, and this is Virtue. As we betray our Weakness in our too much fear and dread of Pain, so likewise our Softness in our excessive Love of Pleasure; now Temperance moderates these two Extreams, and becomes a Virtue by tempering the one with the other. This being establish'd, he examines into the Nature of the Action that leads Man on to Virtue, which is a free Operation of the Will, determining it self to the Choice it makes of Good; and this gives him an occasion to describe at length what the Will is by the Circumstances of Action, free or constrain'd, voluntary or involuntary; which is one of the finest Treatises in all *Aristotle's* Morality, because it explains whatever relates to the Liberty, and to the whole Oeconomy of Humane Actions. From thence, he passes on to *Fortitude* and *Temperance*, and sets forth the Nature and Effects of these two Virtues, and treating on *Temperance*, he sets down all those Virtues that are its dependents, and have Riches and Honours for their Objects. He tells us, that the Virtue which

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relates to the uſe of great Riches, is *Magnificence*; and that which relates to the uſe of a leſſer Share, is *Liberality*; that the Virtue which relates to common Honours, is the *Deſire of Glory*; and that which relates to uncommon Honours, is *Magnanimity*. And as *Temperance* ſuperintends, directs and governs all thoſe Virtues that regard Society, he gives us a View of them all in their Order: The Firſt, which is converſant about removing the Obſtacles of Commerce in a Civil Life, by taking off that Roughneſs, and ſweetning that Soureneſs of Temper, which is ſo often met with in too great a part of Mankind, is a Mildneſs and Meekneſs of Nature, Courteſie and Humanity; the other Virtues dependent on *Temperance*, which contribute to the rendring Society ſecure and agreeable, are Candour or Sincerity, which govern our Thoughts; Affability, which governs our Words; and Civility, which governs our Actions.

Having thus eſtabliſh'd, in the firſt Part of his Morals, the Eſſence of Private Virtue; in the ſecond, he eſtabliſhes that of Civil Virtue. He begins with *Juſtice*, the Nature of which he explains, and diſtinguiſhes its *Species*: He concludes his Diſcourſe with an Explication of that natural Right, which is common to Man with Beaſts; and of the Right of Nations, which is common to Man only; and theſe he makes the principal Foundations of *Juſtice*. From thence, he deſcends to the Virtues of the Underſtanding; and from them, he paſſes on to thoſe of the Will: Amongſt the Virtues of the Underſtanding, he reckons Prudence as the moſt conſiderable, becauſe that alone begets right Reaſon; without which, there can be no Virtue. The Uſe of Prudence in a Civil Life

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is *Policy*, as in a Private *Oeconomy*; and the general Object of this Virtue, is what ought and what ought not to be done in the Circumſtances of Affairs, as they preſent themſelves to us.

He deſcends even to an Explication of the Diſpoſitions to, and the Hinderances of Virtue, which are Imperfect Habits: He ſays, that Effeminacy and Impatience are the Hinderances of Virtue, as Patience and Moderation are the Diſpoſitions to it; and adds, that Pain and Pleaſure are the common Matter of theſe Habits: which furniſhes out an ample Subject for our Author's Syſtem of Morality. For he reduces all to *Pleaſure* and *Pain*, which are the ordinary Springs of the Motions of the Soul, and the moſt univerſal Principles of the Paſſions. He concludes this Part which relates to Society, and which *Cicero* has ſo well explain'd in his Book *de Officiis*, with an admirable Treatiſe upon Friendſhip, in which he deſcribes its Nature, ſhews the Differences, and the Uſe, and Benefit of it, under the various Circumſtances of Good and Ill Fortune; and its Neceſſity in the moſt common Action of Man, *viz.* his Converſation: He obſerves the Conduct that ſhou'd be us'd in Friendſhip, to improve and cultivate it; and propoſes ſeveral Queſtions upon this Subject of Friendſhip, which he himſelf reſolves. In fine, he concludes his Morals with Beatitude, which is both the Beginning and the End of them; and deſcribes the Nature of True Pleaſure, to give us an *Idea* of Happineſs. And tho' he acknowledges, that Virtue is the only Means to acquire it, yet he allows, Proſperity and Riches may contribute ſome Aſſiſtance: And having ſhewn, that Sovereign Felicity conſiſts in Action; he infers from thence, that

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there is a Practical Beatitude, which is that of Men; and a purely Contemplative one, which is that of the Gods.

In his Two Books of his *Great Morals*, he treats of Ways and Means to acquire Virtue, by Goods, which he looks upon as the Instruments of Happiness: He distinguishes them into Three Sorts of Goods; those of the Body, those of Fortune, and those of the Mind: After this, he takes into Consideration the Habits of the Soul, the Principles of its Operations; and repeating what he had said before in his Ten Books, he draws several Characters of Probity, Adversity, and Prosperity.

Lastly, in his Seven Books to *Eudemes* his Friend, and formerly his Scholar, he proposes to him Three Sorts of Life; a Life of Business, a Life of Pleasure, and a Life of Repose and Meditation: He prefers a Life of Business to the other Two, and describes the necessary Virtues for such an Active Life, with an *Encomium* on Virtue in general; which in *Plato*'s Stile he calls, *The Harmony of the Soul, by the Government of the Passions.* Here likewise he says something of the contrary Vices, which St. *Thomas* has explain'd more at large in the Second Part of his Works. And to finish this Moral Theology, in his Books of *Commonwealth*, and in those of *Policy*, he treats of Societies and Governments, of Corporations, Cities, Estates and Republicks; of Laws, Deliberations and Resolves; of Authority, of Peace, and of War, and of Seditions; of Customs, of Taxes, of Commerce, and of Arts; of the several Duties of the Husband, the Wife, and the Father; of Children, of Servants, and of Citizens; without omitting any thing that relates either to a Civil, or a Private Life.

Thus

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Thus the *Morals* of *Ariſtotle* differ very little from thoſe of *Plato*, as to their Principles; for they both preſcribe the ſame End to Man, and the ſame Means to arrive at that End, which is Virtue: They both alike diſtinguiſh the Virtues, and define them in general the ſame Way; the only difference between them is, that the Morality of *Ariſtotle* is a little too Humane, and too much confin'd within the Bounds of this Life; for he hardly propoſes any kind of Happineſs to Man, but that of a Civil Life: Whereas the Morality of *Plato* is more Noble and Exalted; 'tis a Preparative to a Life more pure and perfect: And in his Firſt *Alcibiades*, he wou'd perſuade us that this Life is a Reſemblance of the Life of God; and in this he infinitely ſurpaſſes *Ariſtotle*, as well as in the *Univerſal Idea* he forms of this Beatitude, and of all its Circumſtances.

Idem fons utrique, eadem rerum expetendarum fugiendarumq; partitio. Cic. *Quæſt. Acad.*

Plato Ariſtotele divinior in moralibus. Carp. in Alcin.

But after all, whatever *Plato* has ſaid of the Beauty of Virtue, and the Deformity of Vice; and of the Rewards and Puniſhments of Good and Evil Actions, is more like an Orator, than a Philoſopher: He ſuppoſes things, without proving them; and endeavours to delight and pleaſe the Mind, without taking care to convince it: Whereas *Ariſtotle* advances nothing but what, he has firmly eſtabliſh'd; before he determines what is the Ultimate End of all Humane Actions, he proves that there is One: He endeavours to find out in what it principally conſiſts, and declines delivering his own Opinion, before he has confuted the Opinions of others. After this manner he clears all Doubts, and eſtabliſhes his Truths with much Order, Clearneſs, and Penetration; which fills all his Subject, and unravels all his Matter: And gene-

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rally speaking, this Philosopher, in these admirable Pieces of *Morality*, lets fall such Sparks of Light, and gives us such bright, and refulgent Instances of good and solid Sense, as cannot but surprize even Men of the greatest Learning.

Lib. 3. c. 7. Ethic. As for Instance, in the *Idea* he gives us of a Magnanimous Person, he distinguishes the Man of True Courage, from the Man of False. The first never exposes himself to great Dangers, but upon great Accounts; *viz.* for his own Glory, for his Country, for his Prince, or his Friend; nor does he thus expose himself, but with a great deal of Prudence and Conduct. On the contrary, the Man of False Courage throws himself rashly and inconsiderately upon whatever has but the Appearance of Danger, with great Precipitation, and on the most slight Occasions; and is to be look'd up rather as a meer Bully, than a Man of true Courage. In another place, he says, that Modesty, which may be commendable in

Lib. 4. c. ult. a Young Man, is a Fault in Old one; because there can be no reasonable Excuse for it, but Ignorance, which is a very bad one for a Man in Years: And tho' Modesty may serve as a Restraint upon Impudence, which is a Vice, yet for all that, it is itself no Virtue In his

Cap. 8. l. 4. Fourth Book, he tells us, that Anger, which may be a Virtue in a Soldier, is a Vice in a Captain: The one acts with his Head, the other with his Hands; and Anger is an Assistant to the one, and an Hinderance to the other: nor ought this Passion to be ever seen in a Commander, unless it be to make his Authority the more tremendous. He adds in the same Place, that Anger is a Passion less unjust than Incontinence; because Anger always follows some Appearance of Reason, but Incontinence is

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is entirely ignorant of it. He ſays, that the Anger of a Wiſe Man, is worſe than that of a Fool; as the Rage and Fury of a Beaſt, is leſs dangerous than that of a Man; becauſe that of Beaſt is without Principle, Method or Deſign.

He propoſes, towards the end of the Second Book, an admirable Rule, how we ought to Judge of thoſe things, which ſometimes become very dangerous, by being too pleaſant and agreeable. This Rule is taken from the Example of that Council, which *Priam* conven'd in *Homer's Iliads*, to determine what they ſhou'd do with *Helen*, when the City of *Troy* was Beſieg'd by the *Greeks*. The Council prais'd the Beauty of the Princeſs, without being captivated with her Charms, and order'd, that ſhe ſhou'd be ſent back into her own Country, without having any Violence offer'd her. Thus, ſays *Ariſtotle*, ought we to Judge of Pleaſure, without forfeiting our Integrity, or ſuffering our ſelves to be corrupted: And thus ought we to avoid thoſe dangerous Allurements of Humane Life, without being the leaſt affected with them; for 'tis a very difficult thing for a Man not to be ſenſible of Pleaſures, being of ſo frail a nature.

Ἐν παντὰ δὲ μάλιστα φυλακτέον τὸ ἡδό. Ethic. c. 2.

He ſays, in the beginning of the Third Book, that in Deliberations of Morality nothing is commonly ſo vexatious and troubleſome, as juſtly to diſcern between things Profitable and Honourable, and how to follow either. As for Example, *Hyppolitus*, importun'd by the Solicitations and Careſſes of his Mother, ought to be ſilent, and die, or elſe to divulge the Secret: If he divulg'd it, he acts in Diſhonour of the Princeſs he loves; if he be ſilent, he acts in Diſhonour of Himſelf, and tho' Innocent, paſſes for a Criminal with

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his Father *Thereon*. *Aristotle* concludes; that there is nothing so difficult, as to know precisely which Part to take in these two nice Extreams, neither of them being Dishonourable. But nothing can be more Honourable, nor indeed more Conscientious, than what he says in the same place; that a Man ought to Suffer, and how far he ought to Suffer in the Performance of his Duty. 'Tis in this place he proposes, whether he may do an Unjust thing, to Rescue a Friend or Relation out of the hands of a Tyrant: And he regulates things after such a manner, that we may there find the True Distinction, and Natural Order of Duty reduc'd to a just Dependence one upon another. The *Medium* he establishes between Simplicity of Manners, and Niceness of Behaviour, in his Treatise on *Prudence*, is, that Simplicity fall not into Bestiality, nor Industry into Cunning and Artifice: And this he looks upon as a great Principle, from which to learn how to Live in the World. By this Distinction, he gives us the just Temperament that composes the True Goodness of Heart and Mind. He observes in the same place, that Prudence is the Rule of Men's Actions, as Art is of the Artificer's. And in his Treatise of *Friendship* he has this Remark, *viz.* That Benefits and Good Turns reciprocally receiv'd from Friends, ought to be the Consequences and Effects, but never the Causes of Friendship.

Lib. 6. Ethic.

But in all *Aristotle*'s *Morals*, there is nothing appears to me as a greater Instance of the most exquisite Judgment, and of the deepest Penetration, than the Observation he makes in the Third Chapter of the Seventh Book; where he tells us, that in *Deliberations* on *Humane Actions*,

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Actions, 'tis the Heart, and not the Mind, that deliberates, and the Decision which is made, is not taken so much from the Light of the Understanding, as from the Motions of the Will; from whence it is, that the Sensual Man, in his Reasonings, prefers Pleasure to Honesty; because his Heart is less affected with an Honest, than with an Agreeable Good; whereas the Virtuous Man concludes the contrary, *viz.* That an Honest Good is preferable to a Sensual Good, because 'tis more conformable to his Inclinations and his Desires. Thus every one Judges of Things, as his Affections incline him, and as the Will guides the Understanding. And from this Principle, arise all those False Reasonings of Passion and Interest; and from hence are form'd all the Sophisms of Self-Love, to which all Duties subscribe: 'Tis likewise upon this Maxim, that St. *Augustine* founds all the Conduct of Sensual and Spiritual Love, on which all the Christian Morality turns. *Aristotle* better explains the Mystery in that place of his Seventh Book, where he reduces the Principles of all Humane Actions to Pleasure, and Pain; which are the Universal Springs of the Passions. I have dwelt the longer on *Aristotle*'s *Morals*, because I look upon them as his Master-Piece: And the disposing of these *Morals*, and reducing them to our Practice, according to the Natural Order of the subject Matter, is in my Judgment the best Design of a Book, that can be imagin'd. Let us now see their *Physicks*.

διὰ τὸ πάθος, ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους. Ibid.

CHAP.

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CHAP. V.

The Physicks of Plato.

THere is nothing which the Mind of Man has less search'd into, than the Knowledge of Nature: It looks as if God had delighted to place the World within the Reach of Mortal Eye, as the most glorious Work of Omnipotence, and at the same time to hide from us the secret Springs of this great Machine. Nature exposes herself to our View, but her ways are unknown; we see the Effects, but are ignorant of the Causes. After so many Disputes for so many Ages, Men are still come to no agreement, so that it seems as if the Object of Natural Philosophy were a thing rather of Opinion, than Knowledge. And 'twas this without doubt, that discourag'd *Socrates*; *Plato* apply'd himself more to the Study of it, being induc'd by the Communication he had with the Writings of the *Pythagoreans*, who made a farther Progress in the Knowledge of Things Natural, than any of the Philosophers that were before them.

Though the Physicks of *Plato* are scatter'd up and down in several Places of his Dialogues, of *Critias*, *Phedra*, *Parmenides*, and the Great *Hippias*, yet are they more particularly to be met with in the *Timæus*. In this Treatise 'tis that he establishes for the Principle of all Natural Beings, a Matter and a Form; he believes this Matter to be Eternal and Uncreated, and pretends that the Form is only a pure Participation,

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pation, of the *Idea*. Though we may find in his Works ſome Footſteps, ſome Marks and Characters of Efficient and Final Cauſes, yet he reduces all to the Ideal and Material Cauſe, for which *Ariſtotle* finds Fault with him in his Second Book of Generation. He gives to this Matter a Quantity as one of its Eſſential Properties, and adds all thoſe Qualities which are purely accidental, as Heat and Cold, Drineſs, Moiſtneſs, Lightneſs, Weight, Smell, Colour, Taſte, and all thoſe others which cauſe the difference of mixt Bodies. L. 2. c. 2.

Beſides theſe Qualities, he admits of different Kinds of Motion, the Motion of Alteration, of Increaſe, of Diminution, and the Local Motion; becauſe theſe things follow one another, and have a neceſſary Connexion. St. *Auſtin* ſays in his Advertiſement to the *Gentiles*, that *Plato* has Three Principles in his Phyſicks, God, Matter, and *Idea*, which bear ſome Reſemblance and Agreement to thoſe Three Principles Cardinal *Beſſarion* aſcribes to him, which are, the Work that is made, the Matter of which 'tis made, and the Model by which 'tis made. *Proclus* in his Commentary on the *Parmenides*, ſays, That *Plato* wou'd have the Union of the Matter and the Form to be made by a certain Harmony, which is nothing elſe but a mutual Proportion of thoſe two Parts. Theſe are the Principles of *Plato*'s Phyſicks, which this Philoſopher has made the more Myſterious, by reaſon of his Affection for Geometry, which he has forc'd into all his Diſcourſes, without rightly managing his Subjects or conſidering his Matter, and this is what *Ariſtotle*, if we believe *Mazzonius*, upbraids him with. Mazzon. in Plat. & Ariſt. Comp.

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CHAP. VI.

The Physicks of Aristotle.

AS for *Aristotle*, he has Built his Principles of Natural Philosophy upon the Ruines of those of other Philosophers. *Melissus*, *Pythagoras* his Scholar, Taught, that the Unity and Immobility of one sole Being was the Principle of Natural Things. *Parmenides* was of Opinion, that 'twas Cold and Heat; *Democritus*, that 'twas Solidity and Vacuity; *Anaxagoras* admitted of Quantity, and a Confusion of Similar Principles. *Aristotle* refutes all these the better, to establish that Form and Matter he had taken from the *Pythagoreans*, to which he has added Privation as a Third Principle, for the more easie Comprehension of that Change which is made in Generation, which is a sort of Motion; the Matter, is the Subject; the Privation and the Form, are the two Terms; and the Motion has, for its Principle, the Term of Departure; which is a Privation, as well as the Form. As, for Instance, no one can raise a Pillar, if the Materials, of which it is to be fram'd, have not a Privation of the Form, which made *Aristotle* say, That *White cou'd not be produc'd but out of what was not White before.*

So that the First Book of *Aristotle's* Physicks, in which he lays down his Principles, is nothing else, in my Opinion, but a pure System to direct us how to comprehend the Order of the Generation of Natural Beings. The Second

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cond Book, which treats of Causes, appears to me to have something in it more clear and more real too than the First. The Distinction he makes between Art and Nature, Fortune and Chance, seems in my Judgment very solid and well conceiv'd. What he lays down in the third and following Books, is, though somewhat confus'd and out of the common Road, yet admirably well contriv'd. The Definition of Motion is obscure at first sight, but when throughly consider'd, appears true and natural. The Treatise of Infinity in the Fourth Chapter of the Third Book is not in its proper Place, according to the Opinion of *Gassendus*. What he says of Time and Place, in the Fourth Book are noble Discourses, and contain all the most solid Parts of Natural Philosophy. In the following Books, he speaks a second time of Motion, and seems to tread in the same Steps as before, and, as it were, to meet himself.

Natura est Principium motûs & quietis. 2. Phys.

Actus Entis in potentiâ, prout in potentiâ. Gassend. in exercit. Phys.

With regard then to things, in their Principles there is no great Disparity between the Physicks of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, for being both deriv'd from the same Original, *viz.* the Physicks of the *Pythagoreans*, the most Rational at that time Extant, they must needs resemble each other. *Ocellus* was the first Author of those two Principles of Natural Philosophy, Matter and Form, in order to explain the Change that is made in the Generation of a Natural Body by something it receives, and by something that is receiv'd; and though the Principles of Natural Philosophy are almost the same, in the Systems of both these Philosophers, as to the Composition of Bodies, their Proprieties and Qualities, yet their Manner of treating upon them is very different.

Ocel. lib. de Univ. cap. 2.

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For *Plato* has writ of Physicks very superficially; and were we to collect, out of his Works, all he has said upon that Subject, it would make up but a very short Discourse, and not to be compar'd with *Aristotle*'s Eight Books of Physicks, in which he has compriz'd all that relates to the Principles and Proprieties of a Natural Body in General.

His particular Physicks appear to me more ingenious and more methodical from the Deduction of all the Species of the Body Natural, into which it divides it self. He begins with the Heavens and the Stars, with the Elements and with Meteors; and in those Books of Meteors alone has explain'd more things in Natural Philosophy than all the Moderns together; for he descends to all the most minute Particulars of every thing. 'Tis here he shows us the manner of the Formation of Metals, of Bitumens and Salts, and of Stones, and of whatever else is fashion'd within the Bosom of the Earth; here likewise he explains the difference of Bodies by their exteriour Figure, hard or soft, rough, or smooth, stiff or flexible, brittle or malleable, friable or viscous and tenacious; and treats of the Concoction, Elixation, Colliquefaction, and Putrefaction, of the same Bodies. In the same place he examines into the different Opinions that have been held concerning the Elements; whether the Fire burns by the Motion of round Particles pointed or pyramidical, according to the Philosophers of these Times, who pretend to be Authors themselves of many things that *Aristotle* taught long before them; as the Weight of the Air, which he proves by the Experience of a Bullet that weighs more when 'tis heated: And *Aristotle* is not mistaken in his Explication of

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of the Swiftneſs of weighty Bodies, as *Galileo* and *Gaſſendus* ſay he is, who are themſelves much in the wrong, as to that Point. In ſhort, he has ſhew'd the Nature and Difference of Sounds, with a Proportion of all the Conſonancies, as diſtinctly as any of the Moderns, who pretend to have found out ſomething new on that Subject. But upon ſerious Reflexion it will appear, that all that has been ſaid by *Galileo* and *Des Cartes*. upon the different Vibrations of the Air, hath been before obſerv'd by *Ariſtotle*.

I ſhall paſs over that excellent Treatiſe he has writ of Colours, and that of Phyſiognomy, of Muſick and of Phyſick, and an infinite number of others; to ſpeak of his Hiſtory of Animals, which to me appears beyond compare. 'Tis true that in this Labour he drew great Advantages from the Liberalities of *Alexander*. But beſides the great Application and Induſtry he us'd in this ſort of Study, beſides the many Experiments he made himſelf on a great number of Animals; it was his particular Care to inform himſelf of all that had been wrote upon this Subject by the Philoſophers, Phyſicians, Hiſtorians, and Poets that were before him, as may appear from the many Quotations he makes out of *Homer*, *Heſiod*, *Æſchylus*, and *Euripides*. He ſometimes cites *Herodotus*, but 'tis to confute him; for he found very little Certainty in any thing he maintain'd. The Perſon whom he deriv'd the moſt Light in his Hiſtory of Animals, was *Hippocrates* that great Obſerver of the Body of Man, though he never makes the leaſt mention of him, for which *Laurentius*, in his Book of Anatomy, accuſes him of Ingratitude, and with Reaſon. For what this Philoſopher ſays of the Conſtruction

of

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of Human Bodies, is taken partly from *Hippocrates*, not but that he has several things that are his own Observations.

However 'tis to this Philosopher that we owe the Order and Method observ'd in a Matter so extensive, so copious and intricate as this History of Animals: nor is it a small Task to have reduc'd all the Species to certain Kinds, to have compriz'd them in a natural, just, and compleat Division, which he gives us at the beginning of the History; and to have establish'd General Maxims in the Constitution of Animals, which pass for Infallible. 'Twas he that first believ'd that the Heart was the Fountain of Blood, which was rejected as an Error, but has been since found to be true by Experience. The Circulation of the Blood was not unknown to him; for *Harvey*, the first of the Moderns that has writ of it, quotes a Passage of *Aristotle*, to shew that he was not ignorant of it. I must confess, that length of Time has contributed to the perfecting of this Knowledge, and that Experience has added several things to what *Aristotle* wrote. But what Depth of Thought, what Vastness of Soul was there requir'd for the establishing the Principles, and disposing things into that Order, in which he has ranged them; for the finding out by Mechanical Demonstration the Equilibrious Motion in the Flight of Birds, in the Swimming of Fish, and in the several Paces of Animals, which can neither be direct nor straight, without a just Counterpoise of all the Parts of the Body? He has reduc'd to the Rules of Mechanism, of which he was the first that wrote, and that long before *Archimedes*, most admirable things in the Motion of Natural Bodies, in the equal Weights of Liquors, and likewise in

things

things artificial, as in the Guidance of Ships, and of all other great Machines. He first discover'd, by these Mechanical Experiments, that the Motion of every Animal is a Mixture of Agitation and Repose, succeeding each other in those Parts where the Motion is made, which were impossible without this Alternation. I shou'd never come to an end, were I to give you a particular Account of this whole System of Natural Philosophy; let us therefore now conclude, that we may examine the *Metaphysicks* of these two Philosophers.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Metaphysicks of Plato.

NOtwithstanding *Plato* had learn'd Metaphysicks from *Hermogenes*, *Parmenides* his Scholar, yet he had so lofty and elevated a Soul, and so strong an Inclination to the Study of supernatural Things, that all his other Philosophy seems to incline towards Metaphysicks. For where he mixes, in his Dialogues, any Considerations, either Moral, Natural, or Politick, 'tis as they relate to what he says concerning the Knowledge of Intellectual Things. The principal Object of Metaphysicks is a Being in general, and the Properties of that Being. Let us now see what were *Plato*'s Thoughts upon this Subject. He acknowledges, in his *Parmenides*, an Eternal Being, which never was begotten; and he finds in that Being a Goodness, which he calls *The Good by it self*; the first Understanding, and the first Life. αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαθὸν. *Proclus*

clus diſtinguiſhes in *Plato*, theſe three Principles as three different Beings; and *Plotinus* diſtinguiſhes them not at all, but aſſures us that they are the ſame: 'Tis this that gave Occaſion to ſome of the Primitive Chriſtians, that were Followers of *Plato*, to believe that this Philoſopher had ſome Knowledge, tho not clear and perfect, of the ineffable Myſtery of the ever Sacred Trinity. But this Diſtinction is purely Natural, and bears no Proportion with that great Myſtery, by Reaſon of the Inequality and Dependence *Plato* puts between thoſe three Principles.

He gives two Properties to this Being, which he believes are eſſential to it, *viz.* Power and Activity, and adds to them Unity and Infinity. And in the Dialogue of the Sophiſt, he reckons up five Attributes belonging to this Being, Eſſence, Motion, Reſt, Identity and Diverſity, which make up the Univerſal Diſtinction of all Beings. On theſe three Principles he eſtabliſhes three ſorts of Gods, the firſt purely Intelligible, the ſecond Intellectual and Intelligible, and the third purely Intellectual. It wou'd require a larger Treatiſe to examine into ſo profound a Speculation.

He eſtabliſhes in his Tenth Book of Laws two ſorts of Intelligences, the one Good, and the other Evil; and one might imagine, by the Oppoſition he places between theſe two Spirits, and the manner of placing it, that he had ſome imperfect Knowledge of the firſt War of the Angels. And we may find in ſeveral Places of his Dialogues ſuch Marks and Characters of our Myſteries, that we may ſee that it was not without ſome Foundation that the firſt Fathers of the Church believ'd, that this Philoſopher had been acquainted with the Books

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Books of *Moses*; and that so particular an Account of the things of another Life, which he gives us in his *Gorgias*, in his *Protagoras*, and in his *Politicks*, made one of the Commentators of *Alcinous* say, that *Aristotle* must yield to *Plato* in Metaphysicks. Carpent. in Alcin.

CHAP. VIII.

The Metaphysicks of Aristotle.

TO say the Truth, *Aristotle* is more plain and natural in this part of Philosophy, with which he always mixes his Physicks: Good Sense and Reason are his Principal Guides, and 'tis seldom he raises himself above the Knowledge of Things Natural. He never would engage in things he could not demonstrate, which made him so cautious and circumspect, as Cardinal *Bessarion* observes of him, when he speaks of things supernatural. Therefore having first confuted the Opinions of the Ancient Philosophers about the Principles, he examines whether there be one; he proves there is, because the Chain of Causes and Effects, it being impossible that it shou'd be extended on *in Infinitum*, must be bounded by a first Mover. This Principle being establish'd, he shews that there is a Science, which considers a Being purely in Quality of a Being; and then proceeds to examine the Nature, Properties, and Oppositions, and this is the Science of the Metaphysicks. He discovers three Attributes absolutely inseparable from a Being, Unity, Goodness, and Truth, which agree essentially with Bessarion. l. 2. c. 4. contra Cælum.

with all Beings. He distinguishes a Being into Act and Power, into finite and infinite, necessary and contingent; and from these Distinctions makes different Orders of specifical and particular Natures, having first given us some certain Idea's of universal Nature. This is what he explains in his first Six Books; he begins in the Seventh to raise himself to the Knowledge of a First Being, he proves that it must be a Substance; and having given an Essential Definition of Substance, he explains its Properties, Genus, Species, and Difference. In the Eighth and Ninth Book he treats of Substances, sensible and material; in the Tenth, of Unity; and in the Eleventh, he shows that Universal Natures are the first Objects of Science: Having distinguish'd the different Attributes of Substance; in the Twelfth he speaks of the First Cause, or First Mover, and concludes his Metaphysicks with the Unity of the First Mover, and with that of God. In the Eighth Chapter of this last Book, he treats of the Divinities of his Religion as introduc'd by Fables; but discourses of them somewhat obscurely, as not imagining the People capable of such Mysterious Truths. In the two last Books, which I hardly believe are *Aristotle's*, because of the strange Repetitions, there is a Discourse of Immaterial Natures, of *Idea's*, of Numbers, of Mathematical Entities, and of the Generation of Numbers against the *Pythagoreans*. But these Numbers cannot be accounted for by Natural Causes, as *Pythagoras* has long since taught.

In fine, *Aristotle* seems to be much more real and fix'd in his Resolutions and Determinations than *Plato*: He builds things upon establish'd Principles, which *Plato* does not; but

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but gives himself up too much to his own Thoughts, a Fault that proceeded from the Tincture he drew from the vicious and corrupt Instructions of the *Ægyptians*. For as they were a superstitious People, that were pleas'd with the Notions and Fancies of their Priests, who were their Teachers; so this Philosopher found their Minds full of *Idea's*, which they had taken from the *Jews* after their Deliverance out of *Babylon*. In that Conjunction there arose a confus'd Medly of Opinions about Religion compounded of what the *Jews* believ'd upon the Maxims of their Law, and of what was added to such Persuasions by the *Ægyptian* Priests, Men naturally Fanciful and Visionary. With these *Plato*, coming into *Ægypt* sometime after, amply furnish'd himself; from which vast Treasury he has produc'd so many things, as cannot upon any Account be excus'd, but by the Help of real or pretended Allegories. 'Tis true, the Order in which we have the Books of *Aristotle's* Metaphysicks, is not Natural; and 'tis the Opinion of *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Alexander*, that this Philosopher has not taken the same Care in the Arrangement of these, as of his other Works; and that he design'd his Metaphysicks only as a general Scheme or Model of that Science, to be propos'd to the Judgment of the Learned, and for the Improvement of Posterity. *Theophrastus* has endeavour'd to settle the Order of these Books in that small Fragment of Metaphysicks he has left us. *Pasicrates*, a Scholar of *Aristotle's*, is of Opinion that the first part of these Metaphysicks is not in its proper place. *Nicolas* of *Damascus* is the only Man that believ'd the Order of them to be Natural. *Alexander*, *Aphrodisæus*, and *Averroes* dissent from him.

ὑπόδειγμα τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις

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We might draw a Comparison between these two Philosophers, in relation to what they have writ upon other Arts and Sciences, as *Poetry*, *Rhetorick*, *Law*, *Politicks*, and *Grammar*: For these two Great Men have spoken of all things, and have given Precepts to all Conditions of Men; even the most Mean and Sordid and most Mechanical Arts, have not escap'd their Penetration; but of these too have *Plato* and *Aristotle* both treated, as well as of Philosophy. *Plato* shews a great Genius and a noble Spirit in all he says, but has establish'd no Principles, and observ'd no Method, in which *Aristotle* is so exact. Never did any Author write upon so many Subjects, and search so well to the Depth of them; for there are above seven Hundred and Forty seven Volumes of his Works, if we may believe *Franciscus Patricius* the *Venetian* Philosopher; but for my part, I
In Discuss. Peripat. am content to rely on the Judgment of *Diogenes Laertius*, who reckons up near four Hundred. This one Criticism about the Number of *Aristotle's* Works will admit of infinite Dispute, 'tis enough therefore that we may from hence discover, that more than fifty Authors wou'd have merited Immortal Glory by the Writings of *Aristotle* alone, so great is their Number, and their value so Extraordinary: And it seems reasonable to assert, that nothing can be added in the Sciences, nothing writ with any Solidity or Exactness, or according to the Rules of Art, unless it be conformable to those Precepts he has laid down in his Books. After all this, to prefer to this Great Man, the Modern Philosophers, who have gain'd what Reputation they have in the World only by their Physicks, in which System there is to be found nothing new, but that Order which

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which is obſerv'd in ſetting down the Opinions of *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, and the like; to prefer, I ſay, theſe Men to *Ariſtotle*, is an unpardonable piece of Impudence. But we need not be ſurpriz'd at ſome Peoples making ſo wrong a Judgment, for the Soul of Man is of ſuch a Complexion, that it is leſs affected with the Greatneſs of Things than with their Novelty. In which we appear like Children, whom great things do not move, becauſe they cannot comprehend them, but who are delighted and entertained with little things, with meer Trifles, becauſe they ſeem new to them.

I will conclude this third Part with a Reflection or two, upon the Excellency and Advantages of the Doctrine of theſe two great Perſons. As for the Excellency, it is obſervable, that not only the Logick and the Morality of *Plato* is leſs Solid than thoſe of *Ariſtotle*, as I have already declar'd, but that *Ariſtotle* has advanc'd both to ſuch a degree of Perfection, that nothing can be added to either of them. For in his Logick, he has taught us the Art how to correct all the Errors of Thought, how to diſſipate all the falſe Lights of the Mind and Underſtanding, and how to prevent the Natural Precipitation of the Judgment, in order to diſtinguiſh right between true and falſe: And thus his Logick is perfect, * which he was ſenſible of himſelf, it being the only Work he valued himſelf upon. In his Syſtem of Morality and Phyſicks, he mentions the Philoſophers that aſſiſted him; but in his Logick, he quotes none. He has likewiſe ſo diſtinctly explain'd all the Motions of the Heart of Man, and the End and Motives of all his Actions, that his Morals as well as his Logick, ſeem to reach the height of Perfection; nothing can be

* *Ariſtoteles in Phyſicis & Ethicis Phyſicos & Ethicos Philoſophos permultos appellavit, in Logico organo neminem Logicæ Doctorem citavit.* Ram. c. 7. l. r. Schol. Dialect.

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be farther added either to the one or other, unless there be some Order wanting to set forth their Beauty by a more natural Distribution of the Parts. As for his Physicks, I believe, they are only imperfect where the Matter is in fault, which might be better known, and better search'd into, where it less uncertain. For we may pretend what we will, we cannot dive into the Mysteries of Nature, they are so intricate; we are still ignorant of them, notwithstanding all our boasting of having discover'd her secret Springs. But of all Systems of Natural Philosophy, this of *Aristotle*'s is built upon the most Reason, and establish'd upon the best Foundation. All the World perhaps, may not be of this Opinion; but 'tis particularly of this part of Philosophy that the Wise Man speaks, when he says, *That God has given up the Knowledge of the World to the disputes of Men.* I must confess, that Natural Philosophy is not arriv'd to its full Perfection, it may still admit of greater Degrees. The *Metaphysicks* are a Collection of Principles rather than Precepts, upon the Knowledge of Things Natural abstracted from Matter; they cannot possibly be made more Compleat, but by being reduc'd into a more distinct Order; things being dispos'd in the most perfect Manner imaginable, to take away that Confusion natural to Idea's, by the Distinction of Terms and their Attributes. St. *Thomas* makes great Encomiums upon this Science. *Aristotle* calls it his first Philosophy, because it is as it were a Preparative to Logick, which is the Foundation of all Sciences. Without Logick we cannot think aright, and the most essential Fault of those that undertake to speak or write, is the want of this. *Aristotle*, in the Sixth Book of his *Metaphysicks*, imputes

Tradidit mundum Disputationi eorum. Eccl. c. 3.

πρώτη φιλοσοφία

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imputes all the Errors of the Ancient Philoſophers, to their Ignorance in Logick.

The Advantages to be reap'd from the Doctrine of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, are Great: By reading *Plato*, we acquire that Fertility of Imagination, and that Beauty of Conception which is the Mother of Eloquence, and of all that is graceful in Learning: And the Reading of *Ariſtotle*, begets in us Judgment by the Juſtneſs it imprints on our Thoughts, all whoſe Errors it corrects. *Plato* makes Orators and Poets, of thoſe that Converſe with him. That Method he obſerves in explaining things by their Idea's, and ſpeaking of them not as they are, but as they ought to be, and which he borrow'd from *Homer*, is what has alone made all the great Men of his time, and thoſe of ſucceeding Ages. 'Tis after this Model, that *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, *Demoſthenes*, *Hyperides*, *Eſchines*, *Demades*, *Lyſias*, *Pindar*, *Carneades*, *Cicero* and *Virgil* were Form'd; for they, were all *Platoniſts*: As it was the Method of *Ariſtotle*, that made *Theophraſtus*, *Philoxenes*, *Demetrius Phalereus*, *Galen*, *Boetius*, *Avicenna*, *Averroes*, *Alexander d'Ales*, St. *Thomas*, and all thoſe that have writ with any Solidity upon the Grand Sciences. They therefore who ſeek after other Models than what are drawn by theſe two Authors, are much miſtaken if they expect to ſucceed in their Study, or make any reaſonable Progreſs in Learning, when they take ſo wrong a Courſe. It may poſſibly be a thing that will admit of difficulty to undeceive the vitiated Palats of ſome Men, and eſpecially of our Modern Philoſophers, who are of Opinion, that *Ariſtotle* is too much out of Date for the refin'd Genius of the Age, and who imagine that they may grow Wiſe and Learned without a *Plato* or an *Ariſtotle*. FINIS.

Plato dabit Oratoribus Altitudinem. Fab. in Dialog.

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The Opinions of the Wise Men of all Ages upon the Doctrine of PLATO *and* ARISTOTLE, *and the different Adventures of their Sects.*

PART IV.

CHAP. I.

The Adventures of the Sect and Doctrine of Plato, *till the coming of our Saviour.*

AFTER the Death of *Plato*, *Speucippus* succeeded him in his School, he embrac'd his Opinions, but obſerv'd not his Conduct, his way of Life being not in the leaſt conformable to his Doctrine, for he let looſe the Reins to Pleaſure. So that the Sect of *Plato* made little Progreſs during thoſe eight Years *Speucippus* taught in the Academy, by reaſon of his unbounded Avarice; for he loſt ſeveral Scholars upon the Account of thoſe large Demands he made, and ſo many the more fell off from him, becauſe his Predeceſſor *Plato* had treated them after a more honeſt and diſintereſted Manner.

Xenocrates

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Xenocrates, after *Speuſippus* his Death, ſucceeded in the Place; there was not the leaſt agreement in their Method of Teaching, for he endeavour'd to merit the Eſteem of the People by his Honeſty and Integrity. *Alexander* ſent him ſeveral Preſents, which he generouſly refus'd, thereby doing more Honour to the Doctrine of *Plato* than ever his Predeceſſor had done. Being much addicted to deciding Controverſies, he cou'd not accommodate himſelf to *Socrates* his way, who too much diſtruſted his own Reaſon, and ſeem'd to doubt of every thing; but fix'd upon *Ariſtotle*'s of eſtabliſhing upon Principles whatever he advanc'd. *Polemon* took the School after him. His way of Life was very irregular, himſelf a great Debauchee; but he afterwards reform'd, upon reading a Diſcourſe of *Xenocrates* upon Temperance. *Valerius Maximus* tells the Story, St. *Auſtin* mentions this Adventure, and *Lucian* drolls upon it after his uſual way. *Crates* and *Crantor*, who ſucceeded him in *Plato*'s School, chang'd nothing of his Doctrine. *Arceſilas*, who ſucceeded them, reform'd ſomething, by re-eſtabliſhing the Method of *Socrates*, which had been in a manner laid aſide; and by this Reformation he founded the Second Academy. *Zeno*, who was afterwards the Chief of the *Stoicks*, had ſtudied under *Polemon* with *Arceſilas*. *Zeno* was a Man of great Subtlety, and profeſs'd himſelf an Enemy to the Opinions of *Plato*, which fix'd *Arceſilas* the more firmly upon the Doctrine of *Socrates*, and oblig'd him to Veil over the true Opinions of *Plato* with new Myſteries to make them the more valuable.

Val. Max. l. 6. Hiſt. Aug. Epiſt. 130 Luc. in Biſactus. *Mos Socratis cum à poſterioribus non eſſet retentus, Arceſilas eum revocavit.* Cic. 2. de fin. *Arceſilas ignorantiæ magiſter cum Zenonis obtractaret, authore Socrate ſuſcepit hanc ſententiam, ut nihil ſciri poſſe ſtatueret.* Lactan. lib. 3. cap. 6.

Philoſophy

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Philosophy was now studied at *Athens* with great Application; and from hence arose the several Sects of Philosophers, of which the *Stoicks* and the *Epicureans* were the chief. And as there are some *Genius's* naturally Free, and others naturally Slavish; every one chose his Side according to his Inclinations, and plac'd himself at the Head, or in the Train of one of these Sects, which divided the Men of the greatest Learning and Parts throughout *Greece*, and afterwards throughout the whole World. But the Opinions of *Zeno* and *Epicurus* were most in Vogue, by reason of their Novelty. And upon this Account, the *Progress* of *Plato's* Sect was for some time interrupted.

Zeno.

Senserunt hoc Stoici, qui servis & mulieribus Philosophandum esse dicebant. Lactant. *l.* 3. *Inst. c.* 23.

Zeno was of *Cyprus*, he drew after him many Followers, by admitting all Sorts of Persons into his School, and publickly declaring, that all the World was capable of learning his *Philosophy*. He taught in the *Portico* of *Athens*, a Place celebrated for the Pictures of *Polygnotes*; from whence his Scholars were call'd *Stoicks*. Tho' he declar'd himself a violent Enemy to the *Academy*, yet he embrac'd many of their Opinions. He taught a sort *Metempsychosis* of the Soul, and a Recollection of things past, by the Mind, like that of *Plato's*. He never thought it safe to take up with Opinions, but always disapprov'd of it, that he might not leave his Wise Man in an Uncertainty. Virtue was the Sovereign Good, in his Morality; he preserv'd his Reputation, by the Purity of his Manners, and the Frugality of his Life. But nothing more recommended his Philosophy, and advanc'd its Progress, than that Constancy and Resolution he inspir'd into his Followers, in the Extremity of Affairs; which appear'd in the Adventures of *Cato*, *Brutus*, *Paetus*, and

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of ſeveral others that were *Stoicks*. *Antigonus*, who ſucceeded *Alexander* in *Macedonia*, was ſo tranſported with Admiration of *Zeno*'s Virtue, that he ſent him an obliging Letter, to deſire him that he might be admitted into his Sect. The *Athenians* conferr'd great Honours upon him. *Ptolomey* King of *Egypt* ſent an Ambaſſador, on purpoſe to aſſure him of his Royal Favour. In ſhort, this Philoſopher was in great Eſteem, and much Celebrated at his firſt Appearance. But the Virtue which *Zeno* recommended, was ſo falſe in moſt of its Maxims, the Pride he aſſum'd, of making *Men equal to God, appear'd ſo vain; and the *Idea* of his Wiſe Man was ſuch a meer *Chimæra*, that at laſt he became Ridiculous; and † *Cicero* drolls upon him very pleaſantly, in ſeveral parts of his Works, and eſpecially in his *Tuſculan Queſtions*, where he relates the pleaſant Account *Pompey* one day gave him, of the Philoſopher *Poſſidonius*. *Pompey*, as he paſs'd by *Rhodes*, in his Return from the *Mithridatick* War, made him a Viſit in his School. This Philoſopher was then very much tormented with the Gout; but the Noble Opportunity of giving a *Roman* and a Conquerour, an *Idea* of the Stoical Virtue, inſpir'd him to make a Diſcourſe from his Bed, upon the Beauty and Excellency of his Morals. The Pain was ſo grievous to him, while he was endeavouring to Speak, that he could not ſo artfully counterfeit his Miſery, but that *Pompey* perceiv'd it; and the Pride of this Philoſopher appear'd to the General ſtill the more contemptible, the more he affected to act the Heroe, by defying his Diſtemper, in theſe Words; * *Tis to no purpoſe, O Pain, that you thus afflict me, I will never confeſs you to be an Evil.* The Opinions of *Egeſias* and *Theodorus*, who were of this Sect, and

* *Hoc mihi Philoſophia promittat, ut me Deo parem faciat.* Sen. *Ep.* 48.

† Cic. *in* Par. *& pro* Muren.

* *Nil agis, dolor, nunquam te malum conſitebor.* 2. *Tuſc.* Plin. *l.* 7. *c.* 30.

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and who taught, that a Wise Man was made only for himself, and that he ow'd no Service either to his Country or Relations, appear'd so Extravagant, that they brought the Party into much Disrepute; tho' there were several Great Persons who still stuck to it; as *Cleanthes*, *Chrysippus*, *Panetius*, *Cato*, *Brutus*, *Seneca*, *Epictetus*, *Arrian*, and many others, who were a Credit to this Doctrine, and did it Great Honour. But *Plutarch* drew upon himself the Scorn and Contempt of all Honest People, by Discovering the Falsity of this Morality, in his Discourse against the *Stoicks*.

Epicurus

Negat jucundè quenquam posse vivere, nisi idem justè vivat. Cic. 5. *de Fin.*

Animi voluptates, & dolores nasci fatetur è corporis voluptatibus & doloribus. Cicero, 1. 1 *de Fin.*

Epicurus Deos verbo posuit, re sustulit. Cic.

Epicurus appear'd about the same time, and recommended as much as *Zeno*, the Love of Virtue; but only for the Pleasure that results from it; and in that Pleasure, he included that of the Senses, as well as that of the Soul; maintaining, that a Wise Man cou'd not be Happy, unless he enjoy'd all the Pleasures Humane Nature was capable of. But he did not express his Mind openly in relation to the Pleasure of the Senses, for fear of creating an Ill Opinion of his Doctrine: And by this Management he gave Rise to several Opinions, that were afterwards entertain'd, concerning his True Conceptions, which some believ'd to be Innocent. 'Tis most certain, he was a very wise and prudent Debauchee. He never addicted himself to any Pleasure but by Art and Method; but in the whole, let what will be said of him, he had very little Religion in him. One Maxim which he had, was, not to disturb the Peace of his Mind with the Fear of the Gods. He did not indeed, as to all outward Appearance, deny that there were Gods, for fear of opposing the general Opinion of the *Athenians*, who were great Zealots in their Reli-

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Religion, but in effect he did not believe that there were any. He borrow'd the Principles of his Natural Philoſophy from *Democritus*, and his Moral from *Ariſtippus*. So that * *Lucretius* ſeems to be in the wrong, when he praiſes *Epicurus* for having remov'd the Barriers of Nature; which was done long before him, for, except the Declination of Atoms, with a Motion of their Gravity, to which he added the Philoſophy of *Democritus*, he has diſcover'd nothing new in *Phyſicks*; tho' he was much inclin'd to them, as a neceſſary Security to a Wiſe Man againſt Ignorance; for Ignorance is ever capable of raiſing Diſturbances in the Mind. But he deſpis'd *Logick*, and all other Sciences, as uſeleſs, in relation to the Doctrine of the Sweetneſs of Life, tho' after after all, his *Logick* is very fine. The Common People follow'd the Doctrine of the *Stoicks*, who refus'd none of what Condition ſoever; and the Perſons of Quality the Doctrine of *Epicurus*, by which they diſtinguiſh'd themſelves from thoſe of the meaner ſort; ſo that thoſe that exceeded in Number were for *Zeno*, and thoſe that ſurpaſs'd in Merit for *Epicurus*.

* *Confringere ut arcta Naturæ primus portarum claustra cupiret.* Lucret. l. 1.

De Epicuro, qui cæteras disciplinas fugit, nihil moror. Fab. l. 11. c. 18.

The Emulation bred between theſe Two Sects, was great. The *Stoicks* cry'd down the Doctrine of *Epicurus*, as too Senſual; and there was nothing ever after injuriouſly ſpoken of that Sect, but the *Stoicks* acted a part in it; and in return, the *Epicureans* treated the *Stoicks* with abundance of Scorn and Contempt; and look'd upon them as the vileſt Wretches upon Earth. This great Animoſity between them, open'd again a free Paſſage for the Doctrine of *Plato*, tho' it was not altogether ſo Modiſh as either of thoſe Two Sects.

Inter Stoicos & Epicuri ſectam ſecutos pugna perpetua eſt. Fab. l. 5. c. 9.

Cice-

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Cicero, who very well knew the Successors of *Plato*, says nothing of that *Bion*, whom *Diogenes* wou'd have to be *Arcesilas* his Successor, and who, in *Horace*'s Judgment, became famous for the Sharpness of his Satyrs. However it were; *Lacydes*, *Evander* and *Hegesinus* succeeded one another at the time that the *Stoicks* and *Epicureans* were both in greatest Vogue. This *Lacydes* was chief of the New Academy with *Carneades*, who came some time after him, and embrac'd part of his Opinions. 'Tis true, he remitted some what of that Rigour, to which *Arcesilas* had advanc'd the Doctrine of *Plato*; for *Arcesilas* look'd upon nothing certain, nothing true, no not even in Nature it self. *Carneades* taught afterwards, that things sensible and material, were as it were the Shadows of Truth; by which he at least acknowledg'd that there were some things in themselves very probable.

Hor. Epist. 11. Lib. 2.

Cato Censorius audito Carneade, quam primum legatos dimittendos censuit, quod eo argumentante quid veri esset haud facile discerni posset. Plin. l. 7. c. 30. Æli. l. 3. Hist. var. c. 17. Cic. l. 1. de Orat.

This Philosopher being sent with *Critolaus* and *Diogenes* on an Embassy to *Rome*, about the Affair of *Oropus*, under the Consulship of *P. Scipio* and *Marcellus*, did so much surprize the Senate with the force of his Eloquence, that *Cato* the Censor advis'd the House to send him away immediately; for he wou'd so dazle their Understandings with the lustre of his Discourses, that they wou'd not be able to distinguish right from wrong, truth from falshood; and if we may believe *Ælian*, the Senators themselves complain'd, *That that Philosopher came to do them Violence even in the Senate House by the force of his Reasons.* *Cicero* gives a noble Character of this Great Man, when he says of him, That *he inclin'd his Auditors to whatever side he pleas'd.* We may safely affirm that there was never any Person that had a greater

Talent

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Talent at perſuading than *Carneades*; and his profeſſing himſelf at *Rome* a *Platoniſt*, much increas'd his Reputation. *Clitomachus*, *Philon* and *Antiochus*, who were *Cicero*'s Maſters, were *Carneades* his Succeſſors, and gave much credit to this Doctrine, and advanc'd its Fame by the great Characters they bore. For when *Scipio* and *Lælius* had begun to inſpire into the *Romans* an inclination to Learning, and a deſire of growing Wiſe, all the People of Quality went to *Athens* to Study Philoſophy under thoſe great Men that then taught there. This inclin'd *Cicero* to the Doctrine of *Plato*, which he gives ſuch high Commendations of, in his Works; and though he did not profeſs himſelf of any Sect, yet he agreed to that incomprehenſibility, which *Plato* and his Succeſſors had eſtabliſh'd, and acknowledges that nothing can be known with an infallible Certainty; and yet he was perſuaded that, though we cannot be aſſur'd of any thing, yet we ſhou'd not fail of admitting a Principle of Probability, which is the chief Foundation of all thoſe Deliberations that are made in tranſacting the ordinary Affairs of Life. But nothing won over *Cicero* more to the Doctrine of *Plato*, than the Advantage he found of improving his Eloquence, to which his Paſſions ſtrongly inclin'd him. And it cannot be deny'd but that *Cicero* deriv'd all his Oratory which ſo advanc'd his Reputation, from reading of *Plato*, and from converſing with thoſe of that Sect, who were his Maſters. *Suidas* tells us, that *Harpocration*, who was of *Argos* and a great *Platoniſt*, taught *Julius Cæſar* this Philoſophy in thoſe Conferences he had with him, and by thoſe Volumes he wrote concerning the Opinions of *Plato*: Though *Plutarch* aſſures us, that that Prince rais'd to

Nihil percipi poſſe dicamus. Cic. Off. 2. de Fin. 2. Quæſ. Tuſc. *Deus noſter Plato.* Epiſt. ad Quin. Fra. *Plato mihi unus inſtar omnium.* De Clar. Orat. *Platonem autorem ego vehementer ſequor.* Lib. 1. Ep. Fam. *Plut. in Cæſar.*

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the height of Ambition by generous and noble Thoughts, follow'd more the Morals of *Epicurus*; not concerning himself much with Religion, with which he was very little affected. *Brutus*, according to the Opinion of the same *Plutarch*, had once profess'd himself a Follower of *Plato*; but upon the Persuasion of *Antiochus*, *Cicero*'s Master, he forsook the Doctrines of the New Academy for those of the Old: And 'twas this very same Philosopher that, some time after, made *Brutus* a *Stoick*, being himself first turn'd one, after having been an *Academick*, as *Cicero* observes. This was the Estate and Condition of the Sect and Doctrine of *Plato* till the time of the First Emperours of *Rome*; so that this Doctrine has extended it self throughout all *Greece* and *Italy*, not only by the Merit of its Professors, as I have before observ'd, but likewise by those numerous Copies of *Plato*'s Works, which multiplied extreamly during this Period of time, and were got into the Hands of almost all the Men of Learning. I have said nothing here of the *Pyrrhonians* or *Scepticks*, though they were a Sect form'd entirely from the Doctrine of *Plato*, in the Time of the Reformation made by *Arcesilas* and *Carneades*, because *Plutarch* has writ a large Treatise to show the Difference between them and the *Platonists*.

CHAP.

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CHAP. II.

The Adventures of the Sect and Doctrine of Aristotle, *till the coming of our Saviour.*

THE Doctrine of *Aristotle* remain'd in almost utter Obscurity, during the time that *Plato* became so flourishing in *Greece* and *Italy*, which were then the only Countries, where Learning was in any manner of repute. *Theophrastus* that faithful Scholar of *Aristotle* succeeded him in the *Lycæum*; a Scholar most worthy of the Friendship of such a Master, whose Spirit he fully possess'd. 'Tis said that *Aristotle* cou'd not be prevail'd upon to publish his Writings out of that Respect he had for *Plato*, because he oppos'd his Opinions in many things. But there was more Policy than Virtue in this Resolution, for he well knew that the Minds of Men were then too much prepossess'd in favour of *Plato*'s Doctrine. Therefore to conceal his Writings he intrusted them in *Theophrastus* his Hands, expresly forbidding him to make them Publick, which was punctually observ'd. So that *Theophrastus*, who was his Trustee, *Straton*, *Lycon*, *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, and *Heraclides* who succeeded one another in the *Lycæum*, taught *Aristotle*'s Doctrine only by pure Tradition. But this Tradition not being supported by any Writings, in Progress of time became Feeble and Languid, and show'd nothing of that Life and Vigour that

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appear'd in the other Sects. *Epicurus* cast a great many Aspersions upon *Aristotle*, in order to cry down his Doctrine; though *Athenæus* believes nothing of it, because *Cephisodorus* and *Eubulis*, who have writ whole Volumes against him, make not the least mention of it. But the Writings of *Aristotle* met with such a strange Adventure, after the Death of *Theophrastus*, according to the Account *Strabo* gives of them, that it will be expedient to describe their Progress, together with all the various Circumstances of it in order to mark out the Causes of the Silence of *Aristotle*'s Doctrine in those Ages, in which *Plato*'s made so great a Noise.

Athen. l. 8.

Strabo l. 13.

Theophrastus, strictly to observe the Orders of his Master, deliver'd the Writings of *Aristotle* into the Hands of one of the dearest of his Friends and Scholars, with the same Prohibition that was given to him. This Friend was by Name *Nelæus*, of *Scepsis* a City of *Troas*, and who dy'd soon after, yet not without letting his Heirs understand the Value of the Trust he had committed to them; and they were so sensible of it, that, when King *Pergamus*, on whom the City of *Scepsis* depended, made a great search after Books and Writings in order to make up a Library, they buried this inestimable Treasure, for its better security, in a Vault built on purpose. This so valuable a Legacy lay conceal'd in that secret Repository for the space of near one hundred and sixty Years, from whence it was at last taken out half Worm-eaten, and almost entirely corrupted by the Dampness of the Place where they had hid it. And it was now only taken out to be sold at a very dear Price to a rich *Athenian* Merchant call'd *Apellicon*, who had taken the Fancy to make himself considerable by Collecting

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lecting and Amaſſing together a vaſt number of Books, though, as *Strabo* remarks of him, he had not the leaſt Genius for Learning, nor any Knowledge in the Sciences. The Profeſſors which then taught in the *Lycæum*, having intelligence of this, immediately made their Court to this Citizen, who lent them theſe Writings for ſome time, but had them return'd again and plac'd them in his Library, which became famous by ſo extraordinary an Addition. Some Years after, *Sylla* having made himſelf Maſter of all *Greece*, and taken *Athens*, was inform'd that there was nothing in that City more valuable than thoſe Writings of *Ariſtotle*, which *Apellicon* had in his Library; whereupon he gave Orders to have them taken from thence and carried to *Rome*. But *Sylla*'s Ambition of making himſelf Maſter of the Commonwealth, gave him no opportunity of letting the *Romans* know what a Treaſure he had brought away from *Greece*. He dy'd ſoon after, and theſe Writings fell into the Hands of a Grammarian nam'd *Tyrannion*, who had had ſome Knowledge of them by his Acquaintance with *Sylla*'s Library-keeper. Though this Grammarian was a very able Man, and had erected a Library of above thirty thouſand Volumes, ſince the time that *Lucullus* had taken him Captive in the *Methridatick* War, and brought him to *Rome*, yet he knew not the Value of *Ariſtotle*'s Works. φιλόζωος· φιλόσοφος

But after his death, *Andronicus* the *Rhodian* being come to *Rome*, and entertaining a juſt Senſe of the Merit of *Ariſtotle*, having been himſelf bred up in the *Lycæum*, enter'd into an agreement with the Heirs of *Tyrannion* for theſe Writings; and having got Poſſeſſion of them, he applied himſelf with ſo much earneſtneſs to

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the Study of them, and took such vast Pains to examine and understand them, that in some Degree he was their first Restorer, as *Porphyry* assures us in his Life of *Plotin*. For he not only supply'd what was lost by Length of Time, and by the Negligence of those, through whose Hands they were deliver'd down; but likewise reform'd that strange Confusion in which he found them, and took Care to have them copied out. 'Twas this *Andronicus* that begun to make *Aristotle* known in *Rome*, about the Time that *Cicero* had, by the Greatness of his Reputation, rais'd himself to the highest Posts of Honour in the Government; being, some time before, return'd from his Voyage into *Greece*, where he had convers'd with the most noted Men for Learning and Parts in all that Country. He had likewise heard who *Aristotle* was, and was not an utter Stranger to his Merit, though he was then scarce known at all at *Rome*, as appears by the Surprize of *Trebatius*; who coming to pay a Visit to *Cicero*, at his Country-Seat at *Tusculum*, and going with him into his Library, took up by Chance the Book of *Aristotle's Topicks*, of which *Cicero* had a Copy. *Trebatius* ask'd him what Book that was, and what was the Subject-Matter of it? For though he was not ignorant that there had been such a Person in the World as *Aristotle*, yet he had never heard any Body speak any thing in Commendation of him. *Cicero* made Answer, that it was no wonder, *for that Philosopher was known but to a very few People.*

Quod quidem minime sum admiratus eum Philosophum

Trebatio non esse cognitum qui ab ipsis Philosophis, præter admodum paucos, ignoretur. Topic. init.

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As for *Plato* he was known all the World over; for before the taking of *Athens* by *Sylla*, no Philoſophy was publickly taught at *Rome* but *Plato*'s, with that of the *Stoicks*. That which they tell us of *Cratyppus*, that in *Cicero*'s time he taught the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle* in *Mitylene*, is of no Force; for he cou'd teach it only by Tradition. So that 'tis no wonder that *Cicero*, and the Authors that flouriſh'd in thoſe Times, gave the Preference to *Plato* before *Ariſtotle*; the Reputation of the firſt, was fix'd and eſtabliſh'd, and that of the ſecond in its Infancy, and by ſlow Degrees increaſing. It is true that *Athenæus* pretends there was a Copy of *Ariſtotle*'s Works in that famous Library of the Kings of *Ægypt*, which was begun by *Philadelphus*, the Second of the *Ptolemies*, after the Death of *Alexander*. I muſt confeſs that *Ariſtotle* might indeed let ſome of his Writings eſcape his Hands, as *Alexander* has obſerved of him by way of Reproach; but there is no likelihood that all his Works were in that Library; beſides, there is not the leaſt Inſtance of any one Perſon that ever arriv'd to the Knowledge of Things by his Method. So that we may, with great Certainty, conclude that *Ariſtotle* was very little known till the Reign of *Auguſtus*, and that *Plato* was very much. Though, to ſay the Truth, the *Romans* made it more their Buſineſs, more the End and Deſign of their Studies, to become Excellent Orators than Great Philoſophers; for Eloquence was then the only Qualification to entitle them to Places of Honour. Philoſophy was of very little Uſe, but in Matters of Morality, for the forming of a Religion, in order to oblige Men to their reſpective Duties towards the Gods, and towards one another.

Ut Homo per Philoſophiam cultum Deorum & Religionem ſuſciperet. Cic. 1 de Leg.

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CHAP. II.

The Adventures of the Sect and Doctrine of Plato, *in the first Eight Centuries after the Coming of our Saviour.*

THE Reputation of *Plato* being so much the more firmly establish'd at *Rome*, by the Approbation *Cicero* gave of him in all his Works, and particularly in his *Academicks*; it continued in that flourishing Condition during the Reigns of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, both those Princes being great Encouragers of Learning and Learned Men; though *Tiberius* unjustly put to Death * *Trasyllus* the *Platonist*, a Man of universal Knowledge. † *Philo* the Jew, whom St. *Jerome*, in his Epistles, calls a second *Plato*, gave great Credit to this Doctrine under the Reigns of *Caligula* and *Claudius*: The Affairs of his Country having then brought him to *Rome*, where he lived under these two Emperors. *Seneca*, who was the greatest Ornament of *Nero's* Court, brought the Philosophy of the *Stoicks*, which he himself profess'd, into great Vogue; though *Dion* of *Bithynia*, *Moderatus* of *Cades*, and some other *Platonists*, had recommended with Success the Doctrine of *Plato*, to which the genteeler sort of People apply'd themselves in the Search of things Natural; tho the greatest part follow'd the Morals of *Epicurus*, as being better suited with, and more agreeable to their Humours.

About this Time St. *Paul* being arrived at *Athens*, in order to preach the Doctrine of JESUS CHRIST, had no Dispute at all with

* *Trasyllum multarum Artium scientiam professus postremò se dedit Platonicæ Sectæ.* Schol. Juv. Sat. 6.

† *Quid loquar de Philone, quem alterum Platonem Critici pronuntiant.* Hier. Ep. ad Mag. Orat. Rom

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with the *Platoniſts*: At leaſt the Author of the Acts of the Apoſtles makes no mention of it; though he ſpeaks of ſome Oppoſition he met with from the *Stoicks* and *Epicureans*. 'Tis to be believ'd that, after the taking of *Athens* by *Sylla*, the School of *Plato* declin'd; at leaſt ſo much may be inferr'd from *Laertius*'s concluding his Hiſtory of *Plato*'s Succeſſors about the Time that the Wiſe Men of *Greece*, leaving their Country to follow the Fortune of their Conquerors, came and ſettled at *Rome*, which was the *Metropolis* of the Empire. But Affairs were in ſuch Confuſion under the ſucceeding Emperors, that Philoſophy gave place to the Spirit of Faction, which began to form it ſelf under the corrupted Government of the firſt Emperors. There is alſo ſome Probability that Philoſophy was at this Time ſo far diſcountenanc'd at *Rome*, that Perſons of Quality, and eſpecially the Senators, were forbid the Study of it, as appears in the Life of * *Agricola*, who went to *Marſeilles* to acquire Learning where it then flouriſh'd.

* *Julium Agricolam per omnem honeſtarum Artium cultum pueritiam adoleſcentiamq; Maſſiliæ tranſegiſſe, ſedemq; magiſtræ ſtudiorum.* Tac. in vit Agric.

Muſonius and *Apollonius Thyanæus*, both great *Platoniſts*, rais'd ſuch a Diſturbance in the State, and ſo confounded Publick Affairs, under *Domitian*, with their Philoſophy, that the Emperour was oblig'd, by a ſevere Edict, to expel all the Philoſophers out of *Rome*, which very much leſſen'd the Credit of Philoſophy; tho 'tis pretended that an Aſtrologer, call'd *Mutius Pompoſianus*, was the Cauſe of this Edict, by erecting an Horoſcope he had made of the Emperor.

Studia Philoſophiæ ultra quam conceſſum Romæ hauſiſſe ni prudentia Matris coercuiſſet. Seut. in Domit.

This Perſecution laſted till *Trajan*'s Time, who, though he was himſelf unlearn'd, became ſomewhat more favourable to Men of Letters. The Emperor *Adrian*, who ſucceed-

Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. 40. Philoſt. in Apoll.

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ed him in the Throne, and who was a Lover of Philosophy for his Master *Plutarch*'s sake, re-establish'd it in the City of *Alexandria*, where it had lain neglected ever since the burning of that Royal School, and that Famous Library, which the Kings of *Ægypt* had erected in their Palace. For *Julius Cæsar*, when he took *Alexandria*, after the Death of *Pompey*, order'd certain suspitious Houses about the Palace to be set on Fire; the Flames of which reaching the Library, burnt Seven hundred thousand Volumes, which had been gathered together by the Industry of *Philetas*, *Philadelphus* his Master, and of *Eratosthenes*, and *Apollonius* the *Rhodian*, who were all Librarians. The Affection *Adrian* had for Learning was so great, and so prevalent, that he was jealous of *Phavorinus* his Secretary, because his Knowledge was more extensive than his Master's. However, 'twas the Love this Prince had for Learning that made him recal *Epictetus* the great *Stoick*, *Numenius* the *Platonist*, and several other Philosophers, who had been banish'd *Rome* by *Domitian*. And 'twas likewise by *Adrian*'s Orders that *Nicetas* of *Smyrna*, *Polemon*, *Dionysius* the *Sophist*, of whom *Philostrates* makes mention, and several other learned Men, were sent to *Alexandria* to teach the Sciences: And the Emperor coming afterwards himself to *Alexandria*, propos'd several Questions to the Philosophers he had sent there, and solv'd them all himself.

Antoninus and *Marcus Aurelius*, who succeeded *Adrian* in the Empire, succeeded him likewise in his Inclinations to Learning, and above all to Philosophy, which they both passionately admir'd. *Herodian* tells us, in his History, that the Affection *Marcus Aurelius* had for Philosophy,

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loſophy, brought it into very great Requeſt, and vaſtly increas'd the Number of Profeſſors during his Reign. He eſtabliſh'd in the Schools at *Athens* the ancient Diſcipline, which was much decay'd, and appointed large Allowances for the Profeſſors, as *Capitolinus* aſſures us, and as *Lucian* informs us more particularly in his *Eunuch*. 'Tis certain this Prince was ſo much taken with the Quality of a Philoſopher, that *Athenagoras*, whom *Methodius* mentions among his Eccleſiaſtical Authors, being ſent to him in the Behalf of the *Greek* Churches, complimented him and his Son *Commodus* with the Name of Philoſophers, imagining that he cou'd not addreſs himſelf to them in a more agreeable manner, than by flattering their Vanity with this Title.

Maximus Tyrius, a great *Platoniſt*, and one of *Marcus Aurelius* his Maſters, contributed very much towards the making him in Love with Philoſophy, and towards the bringing the Doctrine of *Plato* into Requeſt at his Court. *Numenius*, whom *Euſebius* ſpeaks of, and who was a Man of great Reputation under the two *Antonines's*, and *Cronius*, who wrote at the ſame time a part of the Hiſtory of the *Academy*, both ſo far advanc'd the Credit of *Plato* at *Rome*, that his Doctrine came into Faſhion amongſt the Ladies at Court, inſomuch that a *Stoick*, call'd *Apollonius*, whom *Photius* makes mention of, wrote a Hiſtory of the *Platonick Ladies*. *Apuleius*, who was of *Madaura*, and *Galen*, that celebrated Phyſician, both of this Court, added much to the Character of *Plato* by what they writ upon his Doctrine. *Diogenes Laertius* rais'd the Reputation of this Philoſopher to a higher Degree than any of the former, by that admirable Work he compos'd upon the Hiſtory

Euſ. in præp. Evang. l. 11.

Phot. in Bibliot.

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History of the Ancient Philosophers, which he dedicated to a Lady of *Severus* his Court, called *Arrhia*; who, as he himself says, was a passionate Admirer of *Plato*, and the same, that *Galen* cur'd of a weak Stomach with his Treacle. *Julia*, the Empress, influenc'd by the Example of her Husband *Severus*, who was a greater Encourager of Learning than the Emperor *Commodus* his Predecessor, shew'd a great Respect to Men of Letters, and had the Sciences in much Veneration, as *Dion* reports: And 'twas she that laid her Commands upon *Philostrates* to write the Life of *Apollonius Thyanæus*, such was her Inclination to Philosophy. In fine, the Reputation of *Sextus Empiricus*, who was the Chief of the Fifth Academy, made *Plato* very considerable under the *Antoninus's*; and down even to the Reign of *Severus*, there was scarce any other Philosophy taught in the Publick Schools at *Rome*, and at *Alexandria*, than that of *Plato*.

Ἀῤῥίαν φιλοπλάτωνα.

This was the State and Condition of *Plato*'s *Philosophy* during all this First Age, in which the Church and our Religion were establish'd. And the greatest Opposition the *Apostles* and their immediate *Successors* met with in propagating the *Gospel*, was from *Philosophy*; of which the World was at that time so full, that no sooner did St. *Paul* appear at *Athens*, in order to Preach *Jesus Christ*, but the *Epicureans* and *Stoicks* encounter'd him, as we may read in the *Acts*. And St. *Austin*, in his Discourse on the Sermon of that *Apostle*, says, that he met with no great Success at *Athens*, because there then reign'd there a Spirit of Curiosity, a boundless Desire among the People, of Learning something New. This Fancy of Reasoning upon Principles of *Philosophy* in all Con-

Acts 17.

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Controverſies, increas'd ſo mightily under thoſe Emperours whom I but now mention'd, that *Lucian* is continually Railing at it; he never is in a better Humour, nor ever ſpeaks better things, than when he is Drolling upon the *Philoſophers*, and Ridiculing, upon all occaſions, the Strength and Power *Philoſophy* had gain'd in thoſe Days, which he took delight in Expoſing.

So that the Men of Learning, among the *Chriſtians*, that they might not be at continual Oppoſitions with the Men of Learning among the Heathen, who diſdain'd to hearken to any one that made not Profeſſion of ſome *Philoſophy*, at laſt fell in with the *Platoniſts*; becauſe the Doctrine of *Plato* was then moſt in Vogue. The *Stoicks* began to loſe their Credit; *Plutarch* and *Lucian* having diſcover'd the Falſneſs of their *Virtue*, even from ſeveral of their own *Works*. That Exceſs of Severity which they profeſs'd, as always happens in *Extreams*, fell at laſt into Looſneſs, and their Wiſe Man in *Idea* was become a meer *Chimæra*. The *Philoſophy* of *Epicurus*, which taught us to enjoy *Pleaſures* Methodically, began likewiſe, in proceſs of time, to become inſupportable; by the Natural Hurry of the *Paſſions*, which become more violent and tumultuous by yielding to them, as was ſeen in this Sect. And tho' *Epicurus* ſeem'd only to aim at the Pleaſures of the Mind, yet his *Philoſophy* grew at laſt ſo Senſual, that it was utterly cry'd down and diſcarded, by all that were truly Virtuous. As for *Ariſtotle*, he was as yet but little known, and ſo all declar'd for *Plato*.

For it was believ'd, that the beſt way to decline contending with all that Crowd of *Philoſophers*, of which the World was then full, was

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was to break their united Force, by falling in with those, whose *Opinions* least oppos'd the *Principles* of our *Religion*; and the Sect of *Plato* was look'd upon, of all others the most proper for the *Christians* to enter into Society with. And the main Reasons for this were, that the School of *Plato* finding nothing certain in Nature, but Uncertainty; it was thought easy to introduce the Light of a Revealed Religion into the Minds of those that were already prepar'd to quit their own *Opinions*, by the Profession of a *Philosophy* so unsettled in its Principles; and that Wisdom, which acknowledged its own Insufficiency to discover any thing True upon Earth, wou'd readily dispose the Mind to a Subjection to those Truths which came down from Heaven; that that Sect wou'd, without much Difficulty, acknowledge the Necessity of Faith; which looks upon all Natural Knowledge only as meer Opinion; that that *Philosophy*, which rais'd Man above himself by the Method of its *Idea's*, and took him off from too strong a Confidence in his *Senses*, by making him doubt of all things, seem'd much dispos'd for the Reception of *Christianity*, which raises us above Humane Things, and fixes us on Divine; that *Plato*, who in his Dialogue of *Cratylus*, and in that concerning *Death*, taught, that the Body is only the Prison and Sepulchre of the Soul, might likewise instruct Man how to despise it; and dispose him to that Virtue of Mortification, so necessary in a *Christian*; and lastly, that a Soul that observ'd in all its Faculties, nothing but Wants and real Miseries, as *Plato*, in his *Phædon*, and in other parts of his Works, maintains, wou'd, with small Reluctance, and with but little Distaste, relish those Maxims

of

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of *Christian Humility*, which bring a Man on to *Perfection*, by a due sense of his own *Unworthiness*, and an acknowledgment of his own *Emptiness*.

These are the chief and principal Reasons, that prevail'd on the *Christians* to embrace the *Philosophy* of *Plato*, being under a Necessity of striking in with one Sect or other; which Necessity appear'd in the Conversion of *Justin* the *Philosopher*, who afterwards became a Martyr. He declar'd, that nothing had more dispos'd his Mind to the Truths of our Faith, than the *Philosophy* of *Plato*, of which he had been a great Professor. He assures us likewise, in his Dialogue to *Tryphon*, that after a long and tedious Search after Truth in all the Schools of *Philosophy*, he cou'd find only in *Plato*'s wherewith to raise his Thoughts above the Earth, where all the rest seem'd rather to fix him. The like happen'd to *Tatian* his his Scholar, who was a very great *Platonist*. For he learn'd at *Rome*, that *Philosophy* which prepar'd him for *Christianity*. *Quadratus*, Bishop of *Athens*, who wrote an Apology to the Emperour *Adrian*, in Defence of our Religion, of which St. *Jerom* makes honourable mention; and which was the Model of that afterwards writ by St. *Austin*. This *Quadratus*, together with *Apollinarius* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, and *Meliton* Bishop of *Sardis*, were all great *Platonists*.

I mention not those other Fathers, who defended the Holiness and Innocency of our Religion, against the *Heathens*; by the Purity of their Zeal, and the Solidity of their Reasons: As *Aristides*, who by his *Philosophy* maintain'd the *Gospel* of *Jesus Christ*, under *Adrian*; and that Wise Senator *Apollonius*, who with all

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all the Splendor of his Purple, justified the Scandal of the Cross, under the Emperour *Commodus*, who order'd him to be Beheaded. Nor will I say any thing of *Athenagoras*, of *Pantheneus*, mention'd by *Eusebius*, of *Methodius*, and of that *Bardasanes* that wrote against *Marcion*. But I cannot pass by in silence that most Accomplish'd of all *Platonists*, and most Excellent of all the Fathers, the great *Origen*, who so successfully defended the Doctrine of *Jesus Christ* against *Celsus*, the most powerful Enemy it then had: Nor did he engage in its Defence, till he had compleatly Arm'd himself with the Doctrine of *Plato*, to which he was so entirely devoted, as all the World can witness. St. *Austin* likewise confesses, in several parts of his Works, that among all the Prophane Authors he had read, he found none with whom he more readily enter into a Negotiation about Matters of *Religion*, than the *Platonists*; and he assures us, that the most Illustrious Doctors of his Time that became *Christians*, were from the Shools of *Plato*. The Dislike that these Fathers of the Two First Ages entertain'd of *Aristotle's* Philosophy, which consulted only pure Sense and Reason, and seem'd to fix itself too much upon them, contributed not a little towards the recommending of the Doctrine of *Plato* to the Primitive *Christians*.

Lib. de Vera Relig. c. 9.

Epist. ad Dioscor.

Lib. *Confess.* 1, & 8. 6, 2, & 9.

But after all, this Admirable *Philosophy*, the Lustre of which at first was very surprizing to all Men, prevail'd only for a time; there was at last discover'd a secret *Poison* lurking under these *Flowers*. *Tertullian* was one of the first that found it out; his siding with the Sect of the *Stoicks*, was what, without doubt, put him upon declaring his Aversion to the *Platonists*, whom

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whom he calls the firſt Authors of thoſe Hereſies that ſprang up in his Time. The Misfortune of *Origen*'s falling, after ſo dreadful a manner, into Error, open'd the Eyes of the greateſt part of the *Chriſtians*, and let them ſee, that *Plato* was the Author of all the Diſorders in the Church. St. *Hyppolitus* the Martyr, whoſe Writings are ſo highly approv'd by St. *Jerome*, and *Euſebius*, exclaims loudly againſt this Philoſopher, as the moſt dangerous of all others. *Lactantius* and *Arnobius*, both the moſt celebrated Orators of their time, have wrote with great vehemence againſt *Plato*, in thoſe admirable Books of theirs, penn'd about the End of the Third Century. But of all the Fathers of thoſe Times, none ſeem more juſtly to have found fault with the Doctrine of that Philoſopher, than St. *Chryſoſtom*, in his Preface to his Homilies upon St. *Matthew*; where he repreſents *Plato* as a Viſionary, and the *Idea's* of his *Commonwealth*, as wild and extravagant. 'Tis not unlikely, but that the Doctrine of this Philoſopher concerning *Spirits* and *Angels*, might have contributed to the Succeſs of that Error which ſpread ſo far, and was ſo prevalent amongſt the *Greek* Fathers, againſt the *Purity* of the *Spirits* of *Angels*; and Authoriz'd that Opinion of their Materiality; which was one of the Hereſies of *Neſtorius*.

Euſeb. in Antith.

It began now to appear, that this Philoſophy was not ſo favourable to *Chriſtianity*, as was at firſt believed; becauſe it made a Search after Truth, with an intent not to find it: It purſued it through all its ſecret Paths, but with no Deſign of Diſcovering it. It ſo accuſtom'd the Mind, as to make it doubt of the moſt certain things, and plac'd all Science in Irreſolution and Heſitation. It was found

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afterwards, when it came to be more known, to be as contrary to the Principles of our Religion, as it seem'd before agreeable with, and conformable to them. For *Plato* having intermix'd his own Imaginations with what he had learn'd in *Egypt* by Tradition from the *Jews*; did insensibly inspire the Mind with a Liberty of Mingling Visions, with things Establish'd in Nature. 'Twas in his School, that the *Gnosticks* and *Valentinians* form'd their Heresies, as *Tertullian* observes; who tells us in his Book of the *Soul*, that *The Doctrine of* Plato *was become a necessary Ingredient in all Heresies.* St. *Epiphanius* says the same, in his Works; where he assures us, that the greatest part of the Hereticks of his Time, especially the *Marcionites* and *Manichees*, came out from the School of *Plato*: St. *Cyril* calls it the Fountain of Ignorance and Impiety, from whence *Arianism* sprang, which has caus'd great Troubles in the Church. For this Reason 'tis, that St. *Gregory Nazianzen* represents the Works of this Philosopher, as meer *Chimera's* and Illusions: And St. *Austin*, who had so great a Value for him in his Youth, because he found him pleasant and diverting, began to condemn him, when he came to Years of more Discretion: He wrote against this *Sect* the Work he entitles, *Against the Academicks*; where he acknowledges, that the Doctrine of *Plato* had made him Irresolute; and in the Book of his *Retractations*, he repents of the Pleasure he had formerly taken in him, and of the Value he had had for him. St. *Ambrose* likewise, in his Writings against *Plato*, seems very much to dislike him, as Cardinal *Baronius* assures us.

Tertul. *c. 7. de Præs. Dolco bonâ fide Platonem omnium Hæreticorum factum esse condimentum.*

Epiph. *lib de Hæresib.*

Bar. *Annal. Eccles. ad an.* 384.

We find too, that *Justin Martyr*, and *Tatian* his Scholar, *Athenagoras*, *Bardesanes*, and those

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thoſe other Apologiſts, who about the end of the Firſt, and during all the Second Century, had ſo mightily cry'd up *Plato*, were not very Orthodox in their Opinions, but fell almoſt all of them into that Errour concerning the Myſtery of the *Trinity*, for which *Arius* was afterwards condemn'd. *Tatian*, who had ſo couragiouſly defended our Religion under *Marcus Aurelius* became the Head of the *Encratites*, being led aſide by the Doctrine of *Plato*. *Tertullian* ſays, that *Marcion* form'd a Falſe *Idea* of God, by that he had taken from this Philoſopher. *Sabellius* became a Heretick, by his obſtinate adherence to the Doctrine of *Plato*; he defil'd the Purity of *Chriſtianity*, by his wild and extravagant Conceptions, as fair Water is polluted by being mixed with Mud and Dirt; as *Theodoret* obſerves. St. *Baſil* ſays, that *Plato*'s Notion of the *Chaos* before the Creation of the World, in his *Timæus*; where he ſpeaks of the Earth, as of a Canvas extended for the Drawing of a Picture on it, is an Errour taken from the firſt Words of *Geneſis*, which he had read.

Bar. *Annal. Eccleſ. ad an.* 174. Tertul. *contra Hæreſ. c.* 7.

Theod. *de curand. Affectib. Græcorum.*

And the Earth was without form, and void. Ge. 1.

The Fathers therefore of the Third and Fourth Century, who were ſenſible of *Plato*'s Philoſophy, utterly diſcarded it; tho' it had met with great Approbation amongſt the *Chriſtians* of the Firſt and Second Ages. But it became more flouriſhing than ever, among the Heathen, under the Emperours, *Gordian*, *Philip*, *Valerian* and *Julian*, by the Works of *Plotinus*, who was the firſt, and moſt famous Commentator on *Plato*. This *Plotinus* was an *Egyptian*, who had ſtudied Philoſophy in *Alexandria* under that *Ammonius*; who, from a Porter, became one of the greateſt Philoſophers of his time, and who was a *Chriſtian*. *Tryphon*, *Origen*'s

Scholar, accuses *Plotinus* of having stole what he had wrote of *Plato*, from *Numenius*, who liv'd under *Antoninus*; but *Acilius* justifies him, in a Discourse wrote on purpose. However it were, *Plotinus* in his Commentary upon *Plato*, has explain'd him after so excellent a manner, that we dare affirm, that he rais'd his Fame in *Galienus* his Court. For the Emperour, and Empress *Saronine*, had so great an Esteem and Value for *Plotinus*, that they permitted him to establish the Government *Plato* had given an *Idea* of, in his Books of *Commonwealth*, in a City of *Italy*, which they had granted him on purpose that he might try the Project. But this Design came to nothing, for many Reasons that may be given. Tho' *Plotinus* redeem'd the Credit of *Plato* in this Age: for 'twas from his School those Illustrious *Platonists* of the Fourth and Fifth Century came, *Amelius*, *Porphyry*, *Jamblicus*, *Sopater*, *Proclus* and *Damascus*, who succeeded one another, and who met with new Allurements in Philosophy, from the Favours they receiv'd from the Emperours, and especially from *Julian the Apostate*; whose Reign was the more favourable to the *Platonists*, because he had so great a desire to be one himself. Before he he was made Emperour, he undertook a Voyage to *Athens*, on purpose to put on the Gown of Philosophy, and to be initiated into their Forms, that he might make a more solemn Profession of it; and when he came to be Emperour, he prefer'd Philosophers to Posts of Honour, giving them a Share in the Administration of Publick Affairs, by making them Governours of, and Intendents over Provinces.

Recentiores Philosophi nobilissimi, quibus Plato sectandus placuit, noluerunt dici Academici, sed Platonici; quibus sunt nobilitati Græci, Plotinus, Jamblicus, Porphyrius. Aug. de Civ. l. 8. c. 12.

But

But the vaſt Credit of *Plato* began to ſink under the Succeſſors of *Julian*, under *Arcadius*, *Honorius*, and the two *Theodoſius*'s; for theſe Emperors, being Chriſtians, complied with the Opinions of St. *Chryſoſtome*, St. *Jerome*, and St. *Auſtin*, who had diſcover'd the Falſeneſs of that Doctrine. 'Tis true that ſome time before, the Emperor *Conſtantine*, in a Harangue he made to the Fathers aſſembled in Council at *Nice*, very much commended the Morals of this Philoſopher, and above all that part where he ſpeaks of the Rewards and Puniſhments that attend Good and Evil Actions after this Life. But it was never intended to cry down all *Plato*, becauſe there was ſome Danger from ſome Pieces of his Works; which Danger never more appear'd, than after thoſe Reflections that were made upon the dreadful Adventures of *Apollonius Thyanæus*, *Plotinus*, *Porphyry*, *Julian the Apoſtate*, *Jamblicus*, *Proclus*, and ſeveral other *Platoniſts*, who became either Magicians or Atheiſts. *Plotinus* ſuffering himſelf to be ſeduc'd at *Rome* by an *Ægyptian* Prieſt, began his Enchantments in the Temple of *Iſis*. *Porphyry* became a Perſecutor of the Church, and *Julian* the Emperor, after he had renounc'd Chriſtianity, grew a ſtricter Obſerver of *Plato*; for this Philoſophy, ſuch is the Foundation of it, by the Doubts it raiſes, and heſitating upon every thing, leads either to Impiety or *Pyrrhoniſm*. 'Tis ſaid too that *Maximus* of *Epheſus*, who was *Julian* the Emperor's Maſter, brought him over to Paganiſm by a ſecret Philoſophy he had learn'd from *Jamblicus*. But this *Maximus* became ſo odious and deteſtable for the abominable Principles of his Philoſophy, which was a perfect Magick, that the Emperor *Valentinian* order'd him to be put to Death, as *So-*

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crates observes in his History. We may find likewise in one of the Epigrams of *Callimachus*, that a Person nam'd *Cleombrotus*, a great Follower of *Plato*, threw himself down a steep Rock out of a Desire to die, having learn'd to despise Death by reading this Philosopher. All these Adventures are sufficient Instances to convince us of the Danger of this Philosophy.

Towards the latter End of the Fifth Century there was a Bishop of *Vienne* in *France*, call'd *Mamercus*, that made a Party for *Plato*, but it came to nothing. In short, this Philosophy was entirely discarded under *Mauritius*, *Phocas*, *Heraclitus*, and even to the End of the Eighth Century. The Incursion of the *Goths* into *Italy*, in the Reign of the Emperor *Anastasius*; the Wars of the *Saracens* in *Asia*, the taking of *Alexandria* by the *Mussulmans*, which happen'd in the 20 Year of the *Hegira*, and in the 642 of our Saviour; the Persecution rais'd against Philosophers by the Emperor *Leo Isauricus* in the Year 750, who commanded his own Master and several other Philosophers to be burnt together with their Books; these, and other such Disgraces entirely ruin'd the Study and Credit of Philosophy, and blasted the Reputation of *Plato*, even in those very Places where he had shone with the greatest Lustre. The Use likewise of the *Greek* Tongue began to be abolish'd in *Ægypt* after the Conquests of the *Arabians*, under the Reign of the *Calyph Valid*, who kept his Court at *Damascus*; for this Prince having given out Orders that the *Greeks* should use no other Language in their Publick Acts but *Arabick*, it much increas'd that Ignorance which now began to overspread all *Greece* and *Italy*.

CHAP.

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CHAP. IV.

The Adventures of the Sect and Doctrine of Ariſtotle *in the firſt Eight Centuries.*

THE Merit of *Ariſtotle* began, as I have before obſerv'd, to be known in *Rome* by the Diligence of *Andronicus* in recovering his Writings, and the repeated Encomiums *Cicero* in ſeveral Parts of his Works gave him; but it muſt be acknowledg'd that 'twill require a great deal of Time and much Light to ſound this vaſt Abyſs, and dive to the very bottom of it; becauſe, after all, there are in this Author a great many Clouds to be diſpell'd, Difficulties to be clear'd, and Thorns and Briars to be rooted up, which was the Reaſon why he cou'd not be well underſtood till after a long Courſe of Study, and great Application of Thought. We ſhall here preſent you with an Account of the Adventures of his Sect, and of his Philoſophy.

Athenodorus of *Tarſis*, whom *Plutarch* mentions, was the firſt that, in the Court of *Auguſtus*, introduc'd the Categories of *Ariſtotle*, by his Commentaries upon them, which *Simplicius* ſpeaks of with great Commendation. *Plutarch* ſays, that *Nicholas* of *Damaſcus*, a great *Peripatetick*, and much in Favour with the Emperor, taught him *Ariſtotle*, from thoſe Books he had wrote upon his Doctrine; but with little Succeſs, that Prince being affected with nothing but the Verſes of *Virgil* and *Horace*. *Strabo* ſays, that during the Reign of *Auguſtus*, two other

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Philoſophers, *Zenarchus* and *Athenæus*, both of *Seleucia*, came to *Rome* to teach *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy, *Zenarchus* having taught it before at *Athens* and at *Alexandria*; for all thoſe that were Men of any Abilities, came at that Time to *Rome* to make themſelves known, as I have before obſerv'd. There was not any one Philoſopher, that was a Follower of *Ariſtotle*, that gain'd any Reputation under the Reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, and *Claudius*.

Nero had a *Peripatetick* for his Maſter, call'd *Alexander* of *Ægæa*, as *Suidas* informs us. But this Philoſopher had not Intereſt enough, nor was he himſelf a Perſon of ſufficient Credit to bring the Doctrine of *Ariſtotle* into very great Vogue, at a Court where *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, both *Stoicks*, had ſo much Power. There was likewiſe one *Adraſtus*, who took a great deal of Pains about the Writings of *Ariſtotle*, to put the Books in their due Places, and the Chapters in their natural Order; but his Work is loſt. *Sotion*, who was *Seneca*'s Maſter, forſook, together with *Soſigenes* and *Hermippus*, the Doctrine of *Plato* for that of *Ariſtotle*. And altho the Spirit of Intrigue reign'd very much among the Perſons of Quality under the ſucceeding Emperors; yet there was found in the Court of *Vitellius* a Man of a vaſt Genius, nam'd * *Helvidius Priſcus*, who apply'd himſelf to Philoſophy: *Not*, ſays *Tacitus*, *with a Deſign of making it a ſpecious Pretence for Sloth and Idleneſs, as others did; but to ſtrengthen and confirm his Mind againſt the various Events of Fortune*, which were very frequent, through the Inconſtancy of the Emperors. With him there retir'd from Court *Pætus*, and his Son-in-Law *Thraſeas*, in order to proſecute the ſame Studies, Men that had Souls too great to ſee ſo many Diſorders

* *Ingenium illuſtre alioribus ſtudiis Helvidius dedit: non ut plerique magnifico philoſophiæ nomine ſegne otium velaret, ſed quo firmior adverſus fortuita Rempub. capeſceret.* Tac. l. 4. Hiſt.

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ders committed in the Government without Redreſs.

The Perſecution rais'd by *Domitian* againſt Philoſophers at *Rome*, and attended with a Contempt caſt upon Philoſophy it ſelf, brought the Study of it into great Diſrepute throughout the whole Empire. But its Credit began to revive again under *Adrian*, who, amongſt the wiſe Men that bore any Character at his own Court, of whom *Favorinus* the *Peripatetick* was one, made himſelf the moſt conſiderable Figure. *Taurus* of *Berytus*, who wrote a Diſcourſe concerning the Difference between the Philoſophy of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, ſignaliz'd himſelf in the Court of *Commodus*: And *Soſigenes*, *Hermippus*, and *Alexander Aphrodiſeus*, were the firſt Profeſſors of the *Peripatetick* Philoſophy eſtabliſh'd at *Rome* by the Emperors *Marcus Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus*, as *Alexander* himſelf teſtifies in his Commentaries. This learned Man was the firſt that open'd the Paſſage for that Crowd of Commentators that follow'd him, of which he was himſelf a Man of the beſt Underſtanding, and had wrote the cleareſt. *Galen*, Phyſician to the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, a Man of a moſt ſprightly Genius, and a fine Wit, and of the moſt Learning of any about the Court, ſtudied the Doctrine of *Ariſtotle* with great Application, and wrote very learned Commentaries upon the Works of that Philoſopher. *Alexander* of *Damaſcus* taught the Doctrine of *Ariſtotle* then at *Athens*, as *Ammonius Saccas* did at *Alexandria*. The Reputation of this *Ammonius* was very great, by Reaſon of his extraordinary Genius for the Sciences: Having made himſelf Maſter of the Doctrine of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, which he had joined together, he was the firſt that gave

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gave Rise to a mix'd Philosophy compos'd of both, which the Men of Learning afterwards embrac'd, as *Plotinus*, *Porphyry*, *Syrian* of *Alexandria*, and his Scholar *Proclus*, whom *Simplicius* calls the Master of his Masters, and several others.

At this Time, which was so remarkable for eminent Men, the Profundity of *Aristotle*'s Genius began to be known by the unwearied Application of those Men of Learning that had studied his Doctrine, and explain'd it by their Commentaries, such as were *Aphrodiseus* under *Antoninus*, *Aspasius* under *Commodus*; *Syrianus* under *Gordian*; *Porphyry* under *Galienus* and *Aurelian*; *Proclus* under *Julian*, the second *Ammonius* his Scholar, who had writ so well upon the Book of the *Interpretation* of *Aristotle*, under *Valentinian*; *Didymus*, who was St. *Jerome*'s Master, under *Gratian*; *Themistius* under *Jovinian* and *Valens*; St. *Augustin* under *Honorius*; *Olympiodorus* under the young *Theodosius*; *Simplicius* and *Philoponus* under *Justin* and *Justinian*; *Boetius* under the Emperor *Anastasius*, and King *Theodorick*; not to mention *Asclepius*, *Priscian*, *Dixippus*, *Damascus*, and an infinite number of others. All these great Men, who for their Learning were the Glory of these first Ages, contributed very much, by their Writings, towards the Advance of *Aristotle*'s Doctrine, and its being made publick to all the World; which the more it was known, the more it was esteem'd and valued. The ill Treatment the Professors of this Philosophy met with under the Emperor *Caracalla*, was not very prejudicial to the Sect, because of the mean Opinion all the World had of that Prince, who by his Extravagancies had made himself odious and contemptible; for he had unjustly put to Death

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Death *Papinian* the greateſt Man in the Empire, and with unparallel'd Brutality perſecuted all Virtuous and Learned Men.

The Opinions of the Chriſtians in the three firſt Ages were not ſo much in favour of *Ariſtotle* as of *Plato*; but in proceſs of time, the Reputation of *Ariſtotle* increas'd, in proportion to the Number of thoſe that applied themſelves to the Study of him, as on the contrary, the Credit of *Plato* ſunk upon Examination. The Truth is, the Primitive Fathers at firſt diſtruſted *Ariſtotle*, as a Philoſopher that attributed too much to the Senſes and to Reaſon, and judg'd his Doctrine as improper to be conjoin'd with Chriſtianity, which requir'd an entire ſubmiſſion of Reaſon, which this Philoſopher had too much conſulted. They thought him too Natural, too Refin'd, too Politick, and in ſhort too much a Philoſopher; inſomuch, that they wou'd not admit him into their Libraries. *Tertullian* looks upon him as a miſerable Sophiſt, under whoſe Conduct all the Enemies of our Faith took up Arms to fight in defence of Error; and believes that it was his Doctrine, which the Apoſtle, in the Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, adviſes the Faithful to beware of, becauſe of the Danger that attended it; which Danger may be perceiv'd from that Inſtance of the *Theodoſians* under the Emperor *Severus*, who made uſe of the Method and Reaſonings of *Ariſtotle* to uphold and ſupport their Error. The *Carpocratians* were condemn'd for erecting a Statue of this Philoſopher, and placing it near an Image of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and for paying Adoration to him out of an extravagant Zeal for his Doctrine. The *Ælians* were excommunicated by the Church, and by the *Arians* themſelves, from whom they had ſeparated, for

Turtul. l. 1. de Præſcrip. *Beware leſt any Man ſpoil you through Philoſophy.* Coloſſ. 2.

Bar. Annal. Eccl. ad an. 120. Ibid. ad an. 208.

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for teaching their Scholars the Categories of *Aristotle* as a Catechism. The *Antinomians* were arriv'd to such a height of Impiety, as to pay a greater Respect to this Wise Heathen than to the uncreated Wisdom.

Euseb. Hist. c. 27.

Origen, in his Books against *Celsus*, at the Beginning of one of the First of them, endeavours to cry down *Aristotle* among the Christians, being himself very much prejudic'd in favour of *Plato*. For he found too much Reason in *Aristotle*'s Philosophy, and being us'd to the fine Flourishes, and agreeable Airs of *Plato*, he cou'd not comply with him. The greatest Part of the other Fathers were of the same Opinion as St. *Justin*, in his Dialogue to *Tryphon*; St. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, in his Advertisements to the *Gentiles*; St. *Irenæus*, in his Books against Hereticks; St. *Eusebius*, in several pieces of his Works; St. *Athanasius*, against *Macedonian*; St. *Basil*, and St. *Gregory* of *Nice*, against *Eunomius*; St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, in his twenty sixth and twenty seventh Oration; St. *Epiphanius*, in his second Book of Heresies; *Faustin*, in his Book against the *Arians*; St. *Ambrose*, in the first Book of his Offices; St. *Chrysostome*, on the Epistle to the *Romans*; St. *Cyril*, against the Emperor *Julian*, and an infinite Number of others, who found something to say against *Aristotle*, for fear lest a Character of his Logick shou'd be too deeply imprinted upon the Minds of the Christians; a Logick nice in every Point, and directly contrary to the Faith which requires an entire submission. They believ'd that the Doctrine of this Philosopher might easily be perverted to an ill Use, because they did not rightly comprehend it. *We are call'd Faithful*, (says St. *Chrysostome*) *that by a contempt of Humane Reason we may raise our selves to the heights of Faith.*

Hom. 24. In Johan.

However

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However in the End it was found, that this Art of Reasoning which *Aristotle* taught, was not false in any part of it, but was very Solid and Substantial, and might be of great Service to Religion, which, though supernatural, was yet conformable to Reason. *Anatolius*, whom *Eusebius* calls the most Learned Man in his time, and who was afterwards Bishop of *Laodicea*, was the first Christian that taught the Doctrine of *Aristotle* at *Alexandria*, and that made him known about the End of the third Century, under the Reign of *Diocletian*. The Authority of this Learned Man re-establish'd *Aristotle*'s Credit in *Ægypt*, and got him Reputation in *Italy*. *Themistius*, a celebrated *Peripatetick*, and an intimate Friend of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*'s not being able to mollifie the obdurate Heart of the Emperor *Valens* against the Christians, very much rais'd the Glory of *Aristotle* under the Reign of *Theodosius*, who did him the Honour, though he was a *Pagan*, to entrust him with the care of his Son *Arcadius*, during a Voyage the young Prince made into *Italy*. St. *Jerome* speaks very favourably of the Doctrine of *Aristotle*, in his second Book against *Pelagius*. St. *Austin*, who was a Man of so piercing a Genius, wou'd never have bestow'd so much labour upon this Author, had he not had a Value for him; and in those Books he has wrote against *Cresconius*, he very much blames *Donatistus* the Grammarian, for endeavouring to deprive the Church of the Use of Logick, which was so serviceable for the Defence of its Sacred Truths. *Theodoret* has great Encomiums upon that admirable Blind Man *Didymus* of *Alexandria*, a Person of the most Learning of any of his time, because he understood well the Doctrine of *Aristotle*: He commends

Peripateticorum sententiæ consentit fanctæ scripturæ auctoritas. Hier.

Theod. l. 4. Hist. Eccl. c. 29.

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him likewise for having so clearly explain'd him in his Commentary, which he wrote about the End of the fourth Century. *Victorinus*, who was one of St. *Jerome's* Masters, and whom this Father reckons among the Ecclesiastical Writers, began to translate into *Latin Porphyry's* Introduction to the Works of *Aristotle*, a Treatise very necessary for the Understanding of him. *Prætextatus* has translated into the same Language his Books of *Analyticks*.

Soz. Hist. Eccl. Præf. The Emperor *Theodosius* the Younger, who, according to the Account *Sozomenus* gives of him, had a great Love for Learning, sent for a *Peripatetick* Philosopher nam'd *Celsus* from *Greece* to teach Philosophy at *Rome*, for which he gave him a considerable Pension. This Emperor, as *Symmachus* assure us in his Epistles, took great care to procure able Men from *Athens* to instruct the *Roman* Youth, and to make the Love of Learning flourish under his Reign. In fine, that Illustrious *Roman*, *Severinus Boetius*, who was three times Consul, after having studied the Philosophy of *Aristotle* at *Athens* for eighteen Years, and throughly consider'd it with great Application of Thought, translated some of his Works into *Latin*. He was the first that introduc'd this Philosophy into the *Latin* Church, where he was known only by the Noise the Translations and Commentaries of the *Greek* Interpreters had made in the World: His Reputation in a very little time spread over all *Italy*. So that *Aristotle* did not begin to be publickly known in the *West* till the sixth Century; and it was to this *Boetius*, who had the greatest Genius for Learning beyond any of his time, that he was indebted for his Success in these Parts.

Inter præcipua negotiorum curasum est, ut in eruditis Nobilibus præceptores ex Attica poscerentur. Sym. l. 10. ep. 18.

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But although, through the Induſtry of *Boetius*, a great many were indeed brought over to the Doctrine of *Ariſtotle* which was at that time, with ſo much perſpicuity, diſplay'd to all the World; yet ſuch was the Unhappineſs of the Age, harraſs'd with the Wars of *Italy*, and infeſted with the Ignorance of the Illiterate Emperors, that, from *Boetius* his time even to the End of the eighth Century, there was only St. *John Damaſcenus* under the Emperor *Copronymus* that appear'd to have any Love for Philoſophy. He was of *Syria*, where there were ſtill ſome remains of Learning. He apply'd himſelf to the Study of *Ariſtotle*, and made an Abridgment of his Logick, his Morals, and his other Works, but the Ignorance and Stupidity of that and the ſucceeding Age was ſo groſs, that thoſe that profeſs'd themſelves Men of Letters, were look'd upon as Conjurers; As *Bellarmine* reports of Pope *Sylveſter* the Second, who underſtood Philoſophy and Geometry. From hence it appears that *Ariſtotle* was but little known among the *Greek*, and leſs among the *Latin* Fathers; and that there was but little uſe made of him in Matters of Religion during theſe firſt Centuries. Let us now ſee what Succeſs he had in the following Ages: and to that End we will examine what has been the Fortune of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* in theſe latter Days.

CHAP.

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CHAP. V.

The Opinions of the Learned of the eight last Centuries upon the Doctrine of Plato.

THE sad and dismal Estate of *Greece* and *Italy* in these latter Ages, occasion'd by the terrible Revolutions of those two Empires, allow'd neither time, nor indeed so much as Liberty to those that had a Genius for Learning, to apply themselves to it. The Confusion of the Times rais'd a Confusion in the Studies of Philosophy, even amongst its Professors. *Zonaras*, in the third Tome of his History, speaks of a Philosopher call'd *Leo*, who in the ninth Century, under the Emperor *Michael*, and the Empress *Theodora* his Mother, became famous at *Constantinople* by the Interest and Favour of *Bardos* the Emperor's Uncle, who was a Lover of Learning. This *Leo* was Bishop of *Thessalonica*; the Emperor was made sensible of his Merit, by the pressing Instances of the King of the *Saracens*, who beg'd him of the Court that he might instruct him in the Sciences. *Photius*, who was afterwards Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the most Learned Person of his Time, was an Eminent Man in the same Reign; but neither was the Patriarch nor the Bishop such Professors of Philosophy as to adhere either to that of *Plato* or *Aristotle*. The desire of Learning was quite extinct among the Ecclesiasticks in the tenth Century; for the Church enjoying a profound Peace there was nothing

nothing to ſtir up that Emulation, which generally advances Learning.

Michael Pſellus, who was amongſt the Number of the Learned under the eleventh Century, apply'd himſelf with great Induſtry to the Study of *Plato*; but ſeeing no body appear'd in Diſpute againſt him upon the Opinions he entertain'd of that Author, he fell to Writing upon *Ariſtotle* and other Subjects. *Hugo* St. *Victor*, a Man well vers'd in Letters, gave us ſome Innuendo's in his Writings, by which we might conclude that he himſelf was not highly affected with the Merit of *Plato*, and that he did not mightily approve of his Doctrine. We find too, much about the ſame time that, in the Engagements St. *Bernard* had with *Abaillard*, an eminent Divine of the Faculty at *Paris*, the latter had this Reflection made upon him, that by ſuch vain Attempts to prove *Plato* a Chriſtian, he was in danger of proving himſelf a Heathen. It is obſerv'd likewiſe, that St. *Thomas* apply'd himſelf to the Study of *Plato* in his Time; but 'twas only with a deſign to refute the Idea's and ſome other of the Opinions of that Philoſopher upon Metaphyſicks, which in his Judgment, did not ſeem to carry with them much Solidity.

Dum mihi lum ſudat, quomodo ſciat Platonem Chriſtianum, ſe probat Ethnicum. Ber. ad Innoc. Epiſt. 190.

In ſhort, whether it were the Calm in which the Church continued for ſome of the following Centuries, that gave more time and opportunity to the Doctors to Study the Fathers, and make their Reflections upon the Opinions they had entertain'd of the Doctrine of *Plato*, which had appear'd ſo dangerous; or whether the Genius of thoſe times did not incline Men to the Study of that Philoſophy, whatever Reaſon may be aſſign'd, certain it is, that it was entirely lay'd aſide till the fourteenth Cen-

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tury, in which the continual Wars in the *East*; the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*, the Council of *Basil*, and the Council of *Florence*, brought into *Italy* the most Learned Men of all *Greece*, who contributed not a little towards the Reviving of *Plato's* Glory, and the Re-establishing of the Reputation of his Doctrine in the *West*.

The most considerable among those *Greeks* that came into *Italy*, were *John Argyropolis*, to whom the great *Cosmo de Medicis* committed the Education of his two Sons; *Emanuel Chrysolore*, the first that Reviv'd the Love of Learning in *Italy*; *Theodorus* of *Gaza*, and *George* of *Trebisond*, both very zealous for the Doctrine of *Aristotle*; *Bessarion* Arch-bishop of *Nice*, and Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and *Gemistus Plethon*. *Bessarion*, who was a great Admirer of *Plato*, having heard the Name of *Aristotle* mention'd with Applause in the Council of *Florence*, and understanding that the most Celebrated Father in the *Latin* Church St. *Thomas* had writ a Commentary on his Doctrine, seem'd much astonish'd at it. But he was more surpriz'd when he saw the Works of *George* of *Trebisond*, who in a Comparison between *Plato* and *Aristotle*, which he had then publish'd, gave all the Advantage to *Aristotle*. This oblig'd the Patriarch to make an Apology for *Plato*, in that excellent Work he entitles *Against the Calumniator*. This great Man had prevail'd upon *John Paleologus* then Emperor of *Constantinople*, to treat of an Accommodation with Pope *Eugenius* IV. for the Re-union of the *Greek* and *Latin* Church, and answer'd with much Zeal and a great deal of Warmth the Cavils and Objections of *Mark* of *Ephesus*, who oppos'd the Design, for which the Pope made him a Cardinal. He made

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made use of all those Advantages his Character had given him, to raise the Reputation of *Plato* in the Court of *Rome*, and in that of *Florence*; the last of which had a Value and Esteem for Learning and Learned Men, and was already prejudic'd, in Favour of *Plato*, by *Argyropolis*.

But nothing so much rais'd the Affection this Duke of *Florence* had for the Philosophy of *Plato*, as the Discourse *Gemistus Plethon* made upon that Doctrine, in his Presence. *Marcilius Ficinus*, his Physician's Son, having assisted at one of these Discourses, at Thirteen Years of Age, and appearing much delighted with such Performances, as he himself confesses in his Preface to *Plotinus*, the Great *Cosmo* call'd him his Interpreter upon *Plato*; and order'd that he shou'd be furnish'd with the Commentaries of *Plotinus*, to prepare him for that Study. He made him Chief of the Academy he then design'd to erect in that Republick for the Teaching of *Plato's* Doctrine, and assign'd him a Pension, which was constantly paid him from that very Year. The Love and Esteem which this Prince and his Successors *Peter*, *John*, and *Laurence de Medicis* had for *Plato*: The Writings of *Marcilius Ficinus* on the Doctrine of this Philosopher, together with those of Cardinal *Bessarion* and *Plethon*, which were highly valued, very much reviv'd the Credit of *Plato* in *Italy*; so that most Learned Men, that were of any Reputation, became *Platonists*; as *John Cavalcante*, *Angelus Politian*, Cardinal *Cusa*, *John Picus de Mirandula*, *Pomponacius* Professor of *Padua*, *Jerom Fracoster*, a great Poet, and a famous Physician, and Pupil to *Pomponacius*, *Cardan*, *Aretine*, *Frederick* Duke of *Urbin*, *James Mazzonius* Professor

Procem. in Plotin. ad Lauren. Med.

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of *Pisa*, who has writ both upon *Plato* and *Aristotle*. *Jerom Donatus* of *Verona*, who has publish'd a Treatise concerning the Difference of their Philosophy, *Cremonius*, *Patricius*, and a large Number of several other Learned Men that flourish'd in *Italy* in the Fifteenth Century. For, as the House of *Medicis* contributed much to the Establishment of Learning, partly by the Learning of its Princes, and partly by their Munificence to Men of Letters; so that the greatest part of those that apply'd themselves to it, embrac'd their Opinions, and favour'd the Doctrine of *Plato*; which was now esteem'd so pleasant and agreeable; and so Ingenious, that it became the Universal Study of all the Men of Fine Parts.

Reor hoc providentiâ Divinâ decretum, ut perversa multorum ingenia, quæ soli divinæ legis authoritati haud facilè cedunt, Platonicis saltèm rationibus religioni admodum suffragantibus acquiescant. Ficin. *Proœm. ad Plat. Theologiam.*

However, in the end, *Marcilius Ficinus*, transported with this Philosophy, carried things too far. For he too vainly imagin'd, that the Doctrine of Faith might be supported by the Opinions of this Philosopher: He said, that the Dialogue of *Critos* was a Summary of the Gospel; and undertook to explain that most Incomprehensible, and most Inexplicable of all our Mysteries, the Mystery of the Trinity, by the Doctrine of *Plato*. He pretended to silence the Spirits of those, that resisted the Authority of *JESUS CHRIST*, by the Authority of *Plato*. These Extravagances open'd many Peoples Eyes, and let them see, that this Philosophy inclin'd its Professors to Infidelity; who engag'd to support and maintain, by so weak an Authority, whatever was in our Religion most difficult to comprehend. 'Twas this Doctrine, that drew *Picus de Mirandula*, who was so great an Admirer of it, into Error; *Aretine* into Libertinism,

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nism, *Cremonius*, *Pomponatius* and others into Incredulity. *Cardan*, a Physician of *Pavia*, who had compos'd a mixt kind of Philosophy, made up of Judicial Astrology, and collected from the Ancient Philosophers of all Sects; taught, under *Leo* the Tenth, that there were certain Spirits in the Air, cloath'd with little subtil Bodies, like thin Clouds; which Opinion he had deriv'd from *Plato*, with several other strange Fancies. *Gaddi* mentions these his *Chimæra's* in his *Bibliotheca*; and adds, that his Notions concerning the Immortality of the Soul was very much suspected; and that, notwithstanding his large Share of Wisdom, he pass'd for a Visionary in many things. Thus was this Philosophy found to be not only vain in it self, but of dangerous consequence, in the Use that might be made of it, were not great care taken. This oblig'd Cardinal *Bellarmine*, who was a Man of the most solid Judgment of any in his time, to divert Pope *Clement* VIII. who built the College of *Sapienza* in *Rome*, from founding a Chair there, for the Teaching of the Doctrine of *Plato*. And we find in the Memoirs of M. *Canaye*, that one *Prioli*, a Noble Man of *Venice*, being sent Ambassador by the Republick to *Henry* the Great, did, before his departure from that Court, intercede with the King, that by his Permission an *Italian* Doctor, one of his Friends, might come and Teach the Philosophy of *Plato* at *Paris*; which he assur'd his Majesty he well understood, and had long studied. But the King being advis'd by his Council, of the Danger that might arise from giving too much Credit to this Philosophy, wou'd not grant his Consent.

In fine, Father *Petau*, a Divine of the Society of *Jesus*, in the first Chapter of the

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ſecond Volume of his Maxims, repreſents the Danger of Studying of *Plato*, without ſtanding upon our Guard; and ſhews us to what Exceſs they are ſubject, and to what Extravagances they are hurried, who too much ſubmit their Judgments to the Opinion of this Philoſopher: All which he proves from the Writings of the Fathers, and from their Notions; and from the ſad Examples of others. But to conclude our Hiſtory, the Doctrine of *Plato*, is very little uſed in this preſent Age; Fate and Deſtiny having confin'd it to the Libraries, and lock'd it up in the Cloſets of ſome Declaimers, who flouriſh in the Bench, or at the Bar; for truly *Plato*'s Diſcourſes are brisk and lively, and ſhine forth with a great deal of Luſtre: But his giving us only the Appearances of Truth, leaves the Minds of thoſe that read him in a great Uncertainty, as to the Reality of thoſe Things he treats of. There is nothing in all his Doctrine ſolid and ſubſtantial, tho' he's pleaſant and diverting. The only Uſe that can be made of *Plato*, is that which St. *Auſtin* made of him, the reducing of thoſe Things he treats of to Perfection by their *Idea's*, in order to form true Portraictures. *Plato* is likewiſe ſerviceable in furniſhing the Eloquent with bright Expreſſions. Having nothing farther to obſerve upon this Philoſopher, I return to *Ariſtotle*.

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CHAP. VI.

The Opinions of the Learned of the Eight Laſt Centuries, upon the Doctrine of Ariſtotle.

THE Adventures of *Ariſtotle* were ſo various and unaccountable in theſe laſt Ages, that we cannot without ſome difficulty comprehend, how 'tis poſſible, that in ſuch a Space of Time there cou'd be ſo many diſrent Judgments form'd upon the ſame Perſon. For never was any Philoſophy treated at the ſame Time with more Honour, or more Infamy, than that of *Ariſtotle*; the Hiſtory of it is very ſurprizing. The Paucity of Learned Men in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries, the Ignorance of the *Greek* Tongue, and the Scarcity of good Manuſcripts of the Commentaries upon *Ariſtotle*, put a great Stop to the Progreſs of his Doctrine; Men wou'd not truſt his Interpreters, without conſulting the Original Text. Beſides all this, his Doctrine was ſo ſubtil, or rather ſo profound, and his Stile ſo harſh, ſo cloſe and conciſe, that it requir'd great Attention and Application, ſo that many were diverted from it. The moſt Underſtanding Men of thoſe Times imitating the Primitive Fathers, who had neglected this Philoſopher, look'd upon him as not worth their Examination; and were ſuſpicious, like thoſe Fathers, that a Philoſophy that depended ſo much upon Nature, the

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Senses, and upon Reason, cou'd be of very little Service to Religion. There were likewise a sort of half-witted People, a People that had but a slight and superficial Knowledge of Things, who undertook to cry down this Philosophy, because they understood it not. Such was the State and Condition of *Aristotle* in the *Latin* Church; a Church that cou'd not boast of many Learned Men; Idleness, or the Calm and Quiet they enjoy'd, having sunk their Spirits. It must be confess'd, that the Simplicity that reign'd in that Age, especially in the Church, and within the Monasteries, where alone were the Men of Learning were to be met with, cou'd not fall in and comply with the Reasonings of *Aristotle*, which seem'd to inspire a Spirit of Contradiction, directly opposite to the Submission, and entire Resignation of Faith. 'Twas this that oblig'd *Bernard*, and *Otto* Bishop of *Thuringia*, to declaim with so much Zeal against *Abaillard*, and *Porretine* Bishop of *Poictiers*, for having corrupted their Minds with a false *Logick*, which they had learn'd by studying of *Aristotle*.

The *Greeks*, who again flourish'd in the Eleventh, and some of the succeeding Centuries, had better studied *Aristotle*, from those admirable Commentators of the first Ages, whom they carefully read. Their Language, which was still preserv'd entire in *Constantinople*, notwithstanding the Wars, was of great Service to them, in keeping up a Correspondence between *Aristotle* and his Commentators. Yet there were but a few amongst the Learned that apply'd themselves to the Study of this Philosophy: The most that labour'd in it were, *Sisennius* under the Emperour *Constantine*, *Monomachus*, *Psellus* under *Michael Stratioticus*, *Magentinus*

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rium and *Michael* of *Ephesus*, about the Reign of *Isaac Comnenus*, *Nicephorus Blemmydes* under the Emperour *John Ducas*, *Eustathius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, *Cantacuzenus*, who, after he had wore the Imperial Purple, became a Recluse upon Mount *Athos*; *George Pachymeres*, *Theodorus Metochita*, *George* of *Cyprus*, *Philas* of *Ephesus*, *Daniel Cyzigenes*, *Glycas*, *Gregorias*, *Planudes*, and several others under the succeeding Emperours, who all added to the Credit of *Aristotle* in the *Greek* Church.

But the Reputation of this Great Man had extended it self with greater Splendor over all *Africa* amongst the *Arabs* and *Moors*. For *Mahomet*, who in the Seventh Century being made General of an Army, had pretended himself a Prophet, and established a new Religion by Fire and Sword, made way by his Conquests for the Love of Learning in Countries where it had been much neglected; a thing that generally attends Power and Success. The first *Calyph* of his Successors that was observ'd to be this way inclin'd, was *Almanzor*, the Founder of *Bagdat*, of the Family of *Ben-Abas*, who began to reign in the Year of the *Egira* 137, and in the Year of our Lord 755. He join'd to the Study of the Law, that is, of the *Alcoran*, which was the only Study of his Predecessors, that of Philosophy and Astronomy. The *Calyph Abdalla*, who began to reign in the Year 815, sent Ambassadors to the Emperor at *Constantinople*, to request of him some Books of the Sciences; which having obtain'd, he gave Orders to have them translated into his own Language, to stir up the People to the Love of Learning. Nor were his Endeavours in this Affair ineffectual; for his Reign produced many Philosophers, and several very able Physicians. There

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There are some Historians amongst the *Arabs* that affirm, that *Mahomet*, by his Law, forbad the Study of Learning, the better to conceal the Absurdities of his Religion under a Profession of Ignorance; but that the *Calyph Almamon*, or *Maimon*, reviv'd the Love of Learning upon an Apparition that appear'd to him by Night in the Form of *Aristotle*, encouraging him to the Study of Philosophy. This *Calyph* having defeated the Emperour *Michael*, in the Treaty of Peace made this one of the Articles, that there shou'd be a Communication of their Books. It was he, if we may give any Credit to *Scaliger*, that commanded the *Almagist* of *Ptolomy* to be translated into his Language, in order to teach his Subjects Astronomy.

So that the Sciences, which had pass'd from *Greece* into *Italy*, pass'd from *Italy* into *Africa*, together with the Government which continued in that Part of the World to the Year 1258, at which time *Bagdat* was taken by the *Tartars*. But a Love for Learning, and an Affection for the Sciences still remain'd under the Kings of *Ægypt*, *Fez*, and *Morocco*; and those very Ages that were the Times of Ignorance in *Europe*, were the grand *Æra's* of Learning in *Africa* and *Ægypt*. For in those Times there appear'd in those Parts a vast multitude of Philosophers, who, by their Commentaries, conferr'd no small Honour on *Aristotle's* Doctrine in *Africa*, where it was very little known. The most eminent and most celebrated of these Philosophers, were, *Alfarabius*, *Algazel*, *Albumazar*, *Maimonides*, *Alkindus*, *Albefagar*, *Albencini* or *Avicenna*, and *Averroes*. *Alfarabius* having found the Books of *Aristotle's* Physicks in *Mesopotamia*, read them forty times over; and

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and after he had read them over ſo often, wrote at the End, *That he was ready to read them over again. Avicenna* and *Averroes* ſignaliz'd themſelves beyond all others, not only by their Commentaries, but likewiſe by that Affection which, from their Writings, they appear'd to have for the Perſon, as well as for the Doctrine of *Ariſtotle*: by which means they advanc'd the Credit of this Philoſopher to ſuch a Height, that Univerſities were founded for the teaching of the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle* at *Conſtantine*, *Tunis*, *Tripoly*, *Fez*, and *Morocco*. *Picus de Mirandula* aſſures us, that the *Arabs* had ſo great an Eſteem for the Books of *Ariſtotle*, that when once they underſtood the true Value and intrinſick Worth of them, they forſook all others. 'Tis ſaid that *Avicenna* learnt by Heart the Books of *Metaphyſicks*, out of a great Affection he had for thoſe Works, on which he ſet the moſt Value. Pic. Mir. l. 4. de van. Doct.

This was the State and Condition, in which theſe People beheld the Doctrine of *Ariſtotle* in thoſe Parts, where their Government was uninterrupted for the Space of Five hundred Years, during which time they were Maſters of the World. For they extended their Conqueſts into *Spain*, where the *Moors* introduc'd an Affection for Learning. They founded a College at *Cordova*, which in ſucceeding Ages became famous; and the *Spaniards* brought along with them into *France* the Commentaries of *Avicenna* and *Averroes* on the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*, which was then little known; but by reaſon of the different Taſtes of theſe latter Ages, it met there with ſtrange Revolutions and Adventures, as well as in *Italy*.

The Books of *Ariſtotle* having been brought into *France* about the beginning of the Thir-

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teenth Century by the *French* that took *Constantinople*, his Doctrine began to be publickly profess'd in the University of *Paris*, and continued to be taught there for some time. But there was found in that University a Person of a turbulent Spirit, nam'd *Amaury*, who undertaking to justifie his Extravagances by the Principles of *Aristotle*, which at that time began to be taught, and whose *Physicks* he had read; was condemn'd for Heresie by a Council held at the same Place, in the Year 1209. The Books of *Aristotle* were burnt, and the Reading of them forbid upon Pain of Excommunication. The Truth is, this pretended Doctor held strange Absurdities, as for Instance, that God serv'd as a Form to the Matter of all Natural Beings, and that this Matter being uncreated was Divine, and such like Chimera's. These Errors were imputed to *Aristotle*, from whom he had taken his Principles, as they who knew nothing of this Philosophy imagin'd. Afterwards his Metaphysicks were condemn'd by that Assembly of Bishops which was conven'd at *Paris* under *Philip Augustus*; and six Years afterwards the Cardinal *de St. Estienne*, being sent to *France* in Quality of Legat by Pope *Innocent* III, delivered an Order from his Holiness to the Professors of the University, forbidding them to teach Natural Philosophy; which was confirmed sixteen Years afterwards by the Bull of *Gregory* IX, directed to the University of *Paris*. *Simon* of *Tournay*, a very famous Professor of Divinity in the said University, and *Peter de Dinant* Master of Arts, were both sometime after accused of Heresie, for being too much addicted to the Opinions of *Aristotle*.

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But whilſt the Doctrine of this Great Man was thus in Diſgrace, there were found at *Paris* three of the greateſt Divines of that Time that began to honour him with their Commentaries, *Alexander d'Ales*, *Albert le Grand*, and St. *Thomas* his Scholar. St. *John Damaſcenus* was the firſt that opened the Way for them. For having made a very exact Abridgment of *Ariſtotle*'s Logick and Morality, it did him ſignal Service in the putting into very good order that Excellent Work of Divinity he has left us in thoſe four Books of the Orthodox Faith. 'Twas in this Plan, and after this Model, that *Peter Lombard*, near Four hundred Years after St. *Damaſcenus*, made ſo regular and orderly an Arrangement of the Opinions of the Fathers upon Divinity in his Book of Sentences. A Work St. *Thomas* brought to the greateſt Perfection by copying ſo well after that great Original, of which *Damaſcenus* and the Maſter of the Sentences took the firſt Draught from *Ariſtotle*. But St. *Thomas* undertook to tread in their Steps, without obſerving their Method; for he proceeded after a very particular manner, by which he became the Founder of that Scholaſtick Learning, which was afterwards ſo much in Vogue, and which, in all Probability, he had at firſt from the *Arabs*. I do not pretend to affirm this as a certain Truth, or expect to have it credited upon my bare Word: It is an Opinion I ſubmit to the Judgment of the Wiſe, as a Conjecture in which I might be miſtaken.

I ſay then, that when St. *Thomas* appear'd in the World, it was about 4000 Years that the *Arabs*, who were then the only Men of Learning in the World, had ſtudied Philoſophy, and

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and about One hundred ſince the Love of Literature was reviv'd in *Europe*. Thoſe People, whoſe Empire was as great as that of the *Romans* at leaſt, for the Extent of their Conqueſts, which reach'd from the *Indies* even into *Spain*, imprinted their *Genius* and their Manners, not only upon all their Subjects, but likewiſe on all People, with whom they had contracted any kind of Commerce, that is, on all *Europe*. And as their Studies were confin'd to their Religion, to the Mathematicks, and to Philoſophy, and as they were unacquainted with the Powers of Eloquence, and ignorant of the moſt curious Arts, Painting and Ingraving being prohibited them by their Law; ſo it is not to be much wonder'd at, that by the undiſturb'd Contemplations of their Minds naturally Reflexive, they became ſo ſpeculative, and ſo well converſant in the Metaphyſicks; and that they ſo much refin'd themſelves by Logick and Natural Philoſophy, which was their ordinary Study, and to which their Nature moſt inclin'd them. So that after Three hundred Years employ'd in ſtudying and interpreting *Ariſtotle*, they had render'd that ſort of Study and their own Commentaries very uſeful and neceſſary to the Chriſtians in the *Weſt*, where Learning was re-eſtabliſhed towards the End of the Twelfth Century, at the Time that *Bagdat* was taken by the *Tartars*. The *Arabs* being the only Men of Letters in thoſe Times, and having acquired a great Authority in the Learned World, had eſtabliſh'd in all the Schools their own Methods of teaching: St. *Thomas* finding no other, took them, and was afterwards follow'd by all the Schoolmen. Thus thoſe Barbarous Terms made uſe of by the late Philoſophers, were, without doubt,

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doubt, taken from *Avicenna*, and the other *Arabs*; to whom the Uſe of them was, without Diſpute, natural and familiar; and theſe Terms, by Traduction, became from good *Arab*, as 'tis poſſible they were, to be very wretched *Latin*. It is not in the leaſt to be queſtion'd but that this Philoſophy was corrupted by its Converſation with theſe People, who were then Maſters of it. It is likewiſe very credible, that if St. *Thomas* had known ſome other Method of teaching Philoſophy, yet he wou'd have ſtill kept to that he had taken from the *Arabs*, on purpoſe to confound their Pride, and let them ſee that the Catholick Religion might be defended from their Calumnies, even by their own ways of teaching and following *Ariſtotle*, to whom they were ſo entirely devoted. Nor is it leſs probable that this ill Taſte of the *Arabs*, who underſtood very little of polite Learning, may have crept into the Schools of *Europe*, as that of the *Goths* has into Architecture, and other Arts.

It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that theſe People apply'd themſelves to the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle* rather than to that of *Plato*, becauſe they found the Doctrine of the former better eſtabliſh'd than that of the latter among the *Greeks*, from whom they receiv'd the Sciences; as appears from *John Damaſcenus*, who was the firſt Chriſtian Philoſopher that liv'd under the Government of the *Muſſulmans*: Beſides, the very Genius of the *Arabs* contributed much towards their giving the Preference to *Ariſtotle* before *Plato*; the brisk and lively Strokes of Eloquence in the one, leſs affecting them, than the conciſe Stile and ſolid Reaſonings of the other. Theſe are but Conjectures; and if I ſhould appear to ſome too conceited in them,

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I am perſuaded that I cou'd confirm them, at leaſt ſtamp ſome Value upon them from the Authority of St. *Thomas*, and all the moſt Judicious Philoſophers, who have much complain'd that the *Arabs* had corrupted Philoſophy. In ſhort, thoſe Hands, through which *Ariſtotle* was convey'd into *Europe*, were not very clean, becauſe thoſe People did not well underſtand the *Greek* Tongue. But I return to the Adventures of *Ariſtotle* in the Univerſity of *Paris*.

There was a new Reformation ſet on foot in the Year 1366. by the Cardinals St. *Mark* and St. *Martin*, deputed by *Urban* V. for the re-eſtabliſhment of the Doctrine of *Ariſtotle* in *France*. It was agreed upon that none ſhould be admitted Maſter of Arts, that had not been firſt examin'd in *Ariſtotle's Logick*, *Metaphyſicks*, and *Phyſicks*, and in his Books of the Soul. The Cardinal *d' Etoutevilli*, in the Year 1466. was deputed by *Charles* the Seventh to ſee theſe Rules obſerv'd, which had for ſome time been much neglected; and had a Commiſſion from the King to oblige the Profeſſors in Philoſophy to ſtudy *Ariſtotle* with greater Diligence and Application, in order to retrieve the Splendor of the Univerſity of *Paris*, which began to be eclipſed by this Neglect.

In the Year 1447. Pope *Nicholas* V. who reſtor'd the Sciences in *Italy*, commanded the moſt able Men of his Time to make a new Tranſlation of the Works of *Ariſtotle*, for the Uſe of the Divines of the *Roman* Church. His Secretary *George* of *Trebiſonde*, a learned *Peripatetick*, labour'd hard at it, having firſt ſignaliz'd himſelf under the Name of *Theodorus* of *Theſſalonica*, in the Diſputes he was engag'd in upon *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* with Cardinal *Beſſa-*

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rion, and Gemistus Plethon. Alphonsus of Arragon, one of the most learned Princes that ever was, beginning to be acquainted with the Merit of *Aristotle*, from a Correspondence with his Commentators the *Moors* and *Arabs*, and above all from reading *Averroes*, after much Intreaty engag'd the Cardinal *Bessarion* to translate the *Metaphysicks* of this Philosopher, which he did with good Success. And Pope *John* XXII. who canoniz'd St. *Thomas*, and immortaliz'd his Doctrine, rais'd the Glory of *Aristotle*, whose Principles this great Doctor of the Church had embrac'd. In fine, his Reputation became so universal throughout the World, that his Philosophy began to pass every where for the Rule and Model of all sorts of Philosophy.

But towards the End of the Fourteenth Century there was a great Refinement made of the Logick, by a furious Emulation that was rais'd upon the Doctrine of *Aristotle* between the *Nominals* and *Realists*, and between the *Thomists* and *Scotists*, who had great Contests among themselves, but both united to oppose the *Nominals*. These Disputes so divided most of the Universities of *Europe*, that that Character of Solidity, which was the essential Character of *Aristotle*, had almost vanished into Air by those Subtilties, which these refin'd Spirits had conceiv'd, and which in the End, by the Confusion of their Idea's and Reflections, corrupted the Purity of the Doctrine of this Philosopher. The great Field of Battel between the Scholars of St. *Thomas* and those of *Scotus*, was the *Univocation of a Being*; and the principal Subject of the Disputes between the *Nominals* and the *Realists*, was *the Distinction of Formalities*, which those pretended to be only

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purely *Intellectual*, and these they would have to be *Real*. Every one took his side in these Sects, and in those that were form'd soon after, upon the Doctrine of *Aristotle*, according to the Engagements of Interest, Inclination, or Passion, and sometimes according to the Habit he wore: Those that were free and unprejudiced in favour of any Party, followed the universal Humour of the Age in which they liv'd. But there issued forth at this time such an Inundation of Writings upon Philosophy, that *Patricius*, a *Venetian* Philosopher, affirms, that there were reckon'd up more than Twelve thousand Volumes only upon the Philosophy of *Aristotle*: Of such an universal Contagion was the Itch of Writing and Refining upon Philosophy, and so fierce the Passion, as appears chiefly in that Heat and Emulation which was fomented amongst the Scholars of St. *Thomas* and *Scotus*, and the Followers of *Biel*, *Occam*, and *George* of *Arimini*.

And to such a Height was this Contention carried, through the Liberty of permitting all things to the Imagination of those that had the Art of spinning them to so fine a Thread, that the Doctrine of *Aristotle* was equally confounded amongst all these Parties. The Tumult, that was rais'd in all the Schools that resounded with his Name, serv'd only to drown his Voice to such a Degree that it con'd hardly be distinguish'd. In short, this Philosophy was so disguis'd with *those Modal Entities*, *those Distinctions of Place Internal and External*, *that Physical Predetermination*, *those Precisions*, *those Reflex Intentions*, *that Univocation of a Being*, *those Entative Parts*, *that Eduction of Material Forms*, and all those Novelties of the Modern Philosophy, that it was scarce known any more. 'Tis true, indeed,

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indeed, the Idleneſs and Lazineſs of the Age, and the ill Taſte that was predominant, by reaſon of a profound Ignorance in polite Learning, and the exceſſive Fancy of Diſputing, and the great Pleaſure they took in toſſing an Argument, had let the Reins ſo looſe to thoſe vain Subtilties, that Philoſophy had almoſt loſt all its Credit and Reputation. For by theſe Subtilties they made no Diſcoveries of Truth, but gave repeated Inſtances of their own Oſtentation, and of a certain Spirit of Contradiction, which is the common and ordinary Character of Vanity; and as nothing more corrupted the ancient Philoſophy than the falſe Subtilties of *Chryſippus*, which he had introduc'd into it; ſo nothing prov'd more prejudicial to the True Philoſophy than the Refinement of ſome Moderns upon ſome Parts of it, who became afterwards celebrated in the Schools purely upon the Account of their Novelties. Thus the diſorder'd and irregular Love and Affection which all Men had for *Ariſtotle*, every one contending to draw him off to their ſide, and bring him over to their Party, was none of his leaſt Perſecutions.

Yet after all, the Reputation of this Philoſopher was eſtabliſh'd upon ſo firm a Foundation in the Univerſity of *Paris*, and his Authority was grown ſo great, that they cou'd not paſs by, unpuniſh'd, the Boldneſs of one of the Profeſſors of that Univerſity, call'd *Ramus*; who, to give the World a Taſte of his Wit and Ingenuity by ſome new Subtilties in Logick, had printed ſome Obſervations upon the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle* to leſſen his Credit. The Noiſe of this being ſpread through the Schools, *Ramus* was accuſed by reſt of the Profeſſors; and, by Letters-Patents from *Francis the Firſt*,

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was condemn'd in the Year 1545. as guilty of Ignorance, Rashness and Impudence, in daring to write against *Aristotle*, with a Design to overturn the Order and Method establish'd in the University, where no other Doctrine was taught but that of this Philosopher. *Peter Galand* and *James Carpenter*, who were at that time two of the most learned in the University, wrote against him in Defence of *Aristotle*.

It has been always found, upon frequent Experience, that of all the Philosophers *Aristotle* has ever done us the most Service in the Defence of our Religion, which is in all Respects conformable to true Reason. 'Twas upon this score that the Doctors of the University of *Paris* made a new Order in the Year 1611. commanding the Professors to teach the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, in the Method they had prescrib'd.

In fine, the Parliament at *Paris*, in the Year 1624. upon the Request of the Faculty, condemn'd the *Theses* that were propos'd by some certain Persons in Opposition to the Doctrine of *Aristotle*; and the same Parliament, in the Year 1629. gave Sentence against some extravagant Chymists, upon the Remonstrances of the *Sorbonne*, which held, that to oppose the Principles of *Aristotle*'s Philosophy, was to oppose those of Scholastick Divinity receiv'd in their Church.

Such was the Reputation and Credit of this Philosophy in *France*, nor had it gain'd less Fame in other Parts, being establish'd in all the Universities of *Europe*, where no other Philosophy at present is taught but that of *Aristotle*. This Universal Consent of all Nations in their Esteem and Value for him, is a great Distinction

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on of his Merit. For there is no Philoſopher at this time receiv'd and entertain'd but he in the Univerſities of *Italy*, *Germany*, *Poland*, *England*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *France* and the *Low-Countries*. In ſhort, to conclude this Diſcourſe, it may be affirm'd, that the Reputation the Doctrine of this Great Man has been in for theſe laſt Ages, has been the Standard to rate the Learning of the Times by. His worth has been beſt diſcover'd by thoſe that have had Wit and Parts enough to underſtand him, and ſtrength of Conſtitution ſufficient to Study him with Application and Perſeverance; and thoſe Ages have been the moſt Celebrated for Learning, in which he has been moſt known. 'Tis true indeed, there have been ſome Perſons in theſe latter Days that have not ſpoke very favourably of him; amongſt others *Picus de Mirandula* in his fourteenth and fifteenth Books of the Vanity of Sciences; *Patricius*, in his Diſcuſſions; *Vives*, in the *Cauſes of the Corruption of Arts*; *Bodin*, in his *Republick*; *Bacon*, *Galilæo* and *Gaſſendus*, in their Treatiſes of Philoſophy. But it is to be obſerv'd, that they were only a ſet of Men that were deſigning to make themſelves the Heads of a Party, and draw new Schemes of Philoſophy; as well as *Hobbs*, *Digby*, and *des Cartes*, who have rak'd together old Fragments of the Philoſophy of *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, *Nicetas*, *Seleucus*, and of ſome others amongſt the Ancients, to make themſelves Authors of a New Philoſophy, which they cou'd not eſtabliſh but upon the Ruines of *Ariſtotle*, the moſt renown'd of all.

We have ſeen the Riſe of theſe New Models of Philoſophy, and we ſhall ſee their Fall. It muſt be confeſs'd indeed, that *des Cartes* is become the moſt conſiderable, by the Merit and

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Quality of some Persons that have honour'd him with their Protection, for which we ought to Respect him; it ought not to be suffer'd that some Upstarts, some superficial empty Fellows of that Party, well satisfied with their sudden and easie attainment to the Knowledge of some of the Principles of this Philosophy, which is level to the Sense of mean Capacities, shou'd look upon themselves as authoriz'd to treat *Aristotle* as a vile miserable Logician, and as one that deserv'd their Pity, because they understood him not. *Casaubon*, who was one of the greatest Criticks of this Age, observes in his Notes on *Diogenes Laertius*, that never any but Sophists and Half-witted People talk'd ill of *Aristotle*; and he confirms his Opinion from that of an Ancient Philosopher, who had said the same thing of the Sophists and Low-spirited Fellows of his time. And indeed, *Aristotle*'s Philosophy is an Abyss of immense Profundity, impenetrable to mean Spirits, and not to be look'd down into in cold Blood without Horrour. *Themistius* assures us, that it is impossible to understand or explain *Aristotle* well, without having first deriv'd from him a share of his Sprightliness of Wit and Fancy, and of his Judgment, in order to fix our Minds entirely upon Reason, without being prejudic'd or prepossess'd in favour of any particular Opinion. And this may serve as a Rule to Judge by, of those that interpose as Arbitrators to decide his Merit and his Doctrine without knowing either the one or the other.

πολλοὶ σοφισταὶ, καὶ ἰδιῶται καὶ βάσκανοι. Arist. in Notis Casaub. in Laer.

Upon which account, I cannot but lament his misfortune for the Injury and Injustice he has had done him; for he is seldom read but through his Interpreters, of which the greatest Part make large Discourses upon the Subjects their

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their Maſter treats of, without duly conſider-ing his Words as *Eudemus* the *Rhodian*: others have explain'd him by Abridgments and Epi-tomes, as St. *John Damaſcenus*, *Pſellus* and *Pa-chymerus*; others again have made Paraphraſes on his Text, as the *Arabs*, and ſeveral other Commentators. Theſe different ways of In-terpreting him, have given riſe to that Variety of ſtrange Opinions they impute to him, and to that Confuſion that was amongſt moſt of his Followers, who knew nothing of the true and real *Ariſtotle*, by reaſon of thoſe many Expli-cations with which his Doctrine is ſo much diſguis'd, and thoſe different Interpretations, with which his Text has been corrupted by the Commentators of theſe latter Ages. And it may be affirm'd, upon very certain Grounds, that nothing has ſo much authoriz'd the new Opinions, as that ſcandalous Practice of ren-dring the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle* by retail, a thing of late brought us by ſome Contempla-tive Men that have pretended themſelves the moſt devout Followers of his Doctrine. It is likewiſe very propable, that the World wou'd not have ſo run after the Modern Philoſophy, but out of that little Satisfaction it met with in that taught now a-days under the Name of *Ariſtotle*. And this Diſorder and Confuſion ſtill continues, becauſe the greateſt Part of thoſe that teach the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*, copy one from another without conſulting the Original, without deriving his Doctrine from its pure Fountain.

And though it ſeems to be in vain to oppoſe theſe Diſorders, which have taken ſuch deep Root from the ill Taſte of the Men of the laſt Age, and from that natural Lazineſs of the dull and flegmatick *Spaniards*, which has au-

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thoriz'd them by their too Abstracted and Metaphysical Speculations; yet it were much to be wish'd that, in order to a Re-establishment of the true Doctrine of *Aristotle* in its Purity, those who have an Esteem and Veneration for his Philosophy, wou'd take the pains to Study it in its Simplicity, either as it was writ by himself, or as it was explain'd by his first Commentators. For by this means they might understand the true Thoughts of this Philosopher, without any the least Mistake; and distinguish his Maxims from his Problems, and his Decisions from his Doubts, without Confusion. We shall find, if we do but reflect a little, that all these Distinctions purely Intellectual, the *Formalities*, and these *Precisions* introduc'd into the Schools, are not upon any account conformable to the Doctrine of *Aristotle*; for he himself, in several places of his Metaphysicks, mentions them as the Refinements of the Sophists: For, says he, *It belongs only to the Sophists to examine whether* Coriscus, *and* Coriscus *the Musician be the same Man or not.* He repeats the same thing, in several other places of his Metaphysicks; by which it appears how much he avoids those empty trifling Imaginations, whereon the Sophists ground their most common Speculations; for which *Lucian* bitterly rails at the Philosophers of his time, who amus'd themselves with Toys, and disputing about Words and Names rather than about Things, pleas'd themselves with the Shell, and lost the Nut. 'Tis true indeed, by mixing these Metaphysical Reasonings indiscriminately with Morality and Divinity, those Sciences are corrupted, being not qualified to receive them by reason of their natural Solidity and Simplicity.

οἱ σοφισταὶ περὶ τὸ λόγους συμβάλλειν μάλιστα πάντων, πότερον ἕτερον ἢ τὸν αὐτὸν μουσικὸς Κορίσκος καὶ Κορίσκος. Metaph. l. 6. c. 2.

Lucian. in Hermotimo.

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Before I conclude, I cannot omit to mention ſome things, for which, *Ariſtotle* has been ſeverely reflected on, and from which it will be no very difficult Matter to juſtifie him. I am ſenſible, and readily agree, that he is not Infallible, being but a Man as others are; and I acknowledge, likewiſe, that he is miſtaken in many things, but I cannot but be very much ſurpriz'd, that ſome worthy Men as *Picus de Mirandula*, *Patricius*, *Gaſſendus*, and ſuch others ſhou'd cenſure him as a Trifler, and that he had committed groſs Errors in *Geography*, *Aſtronomy*, *Meteorology*, in his Hiſtory of *Animals*, and in ſeveral other Parts of his Works. 'Tis true, he believ'd that the World was more Elevated towards the *North*, than any where elſe; that the *Danube* had its Spring among the *Pyrenean* Mountains; that there were no Arteries in the Waſte; and that the Heart was the Principle of the Nerves and not the Brain, as *Galen* obſerves to his Diſgrace. In ſhort, he is deceiv'd in many things, and all the moſt eminent Men in the World have been ſo; and the Reſpect that is due to the Greatneſs of their *Genius*, ought to keep us from cavilling upon every little Fault, ſince theſe very Miſtakes in ſmall and inconſiderable Matters, are often as ſo many Inſtances of their Diligence and Application in things of greater Moment, and more Eſſential. And beſides all this, 'tis moſt certain, that in Progreſs of time, *Mathematical Inſtruments* for the Obſervation of the Stars, *Microſcopes*, *Chymiſtry*, the frequent Diſſections of *Animals* to know the Conſtruction of their Parts, and ſeveral other Modern Arts have contributed very much to the Diſcovery of the Secrets of Nature, which *Ariſtotle* cou'd not know; and he ought in all Reaſon to have

Galen. de util. Reſpir.

Juſtice

Justice done him, since his Ignorance in these things proceeded from a want of proper Means. If *Ptolomey*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Sosigenes*, *Clavius*, and some of the Moderns, in a long Tract of time have found out some Errors in the Computations, the ancient Astronomers made of the Course of the Moon, Sun, and other Stars, in which we are deceiv'd so little; what mighty wonder is it that Experience has discover'd Faults in *Aristotle*, in those things in which we are daily deceiv'd, by reason of the Uncertainty of their Foundation?

But there are other more essential Faults, for which he is censur'd; as the Impossibility of the Creation, by maintaining that Principle, *that nothing can be produc'd out of nothing*. As that, the World is Eternal; that the Providence of God is so confin'd to Celestial Things; that it extends not to Sublunary; that Matter has a Desire and natural Inclination to perfect it self into Form; and in short, that Notion of the Eduction of Material Forms out of Matter, as a Subject of it self Existent, which has puzled all the Naturalists in the World to comprehend. But it wou'd be no difficult matter to Answer all these Calumnies, unjustly thrown upon *Aristotle*, were it our business to represent him without the least Fault, which I do not by any means pretend to do. For in the first Place, as to that Principle which overturns the Creation of the World, it is plain, that *Aristotle* believ'd it no farther than as it held true in the ordinary Generation of natural Beings. Secondly, as to the Eternity of the World, 'tis very probable, that he did not believe it in its strictest and most limited Sense; for in his *Topicks*, he lays down a Problem, which, if it was his real Thoughts, he must have been mistaken

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mistaken concerning the Eternity of the Heavens, which he proves from their incorruptibility, being at that time unacquainted with any corruptible Qualities which he found out afterwards. Thirdly, if he did not believe Providence to have been such as in effect it is, 'tis not much to be wonder'd at, since he was devoid and destitute of the Blessings of Faith, without which we can neither Speak nor Think as we ought to do of God. As to the natural Tendency of Matter to Perfection, we ought not to impute it to *Aristotle*, since his Commentators represent him sometimes too strongly, and sometimes too faintly, asserting it. 'Tis too well known, that the *Arabs* began first to corrupt his Doctrine by false Explications; as may be gather'd from that Eduction of Forms out of Matter, which is ascrib'd to *Aristotle*, though he thought no more of it, than of the Physical Premotion in things Moral, which indeed, he believ'd to be necessary, as in effect it is in things Natural. There are many things still remaining to be said of this great Man, which I must be oblig'd to omit, because I would conclude and see what benefit may be made of this large Discourse, from the following Reflections.

CHAP.

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CHAP. II.

Some Christian Reflections on this Discourse.

1. WE cannot undoubtedly, after all that has been said throughout this whole Discourse, but be easily convinc'd, that humane Reason never shone forth with so much natural Force and Vigour, as in *Plato* and *Aristotle*. Most certain it is, that by the Power of their natural Faculties, they had div'd so far into the most impenetrable Abyss of Nature, that scarce any thing seems to have escap'd their View. Upon what pretence then shou'd we so critically and with so much curiosity observe and mark the false Glimmerings of their Lights, and the Unsteadiness of their Conduct? a thousand Ages, and a thousand Lives, will never produce any thing that can be commensurate to the Extent of their almost immense Capacities. And, since these noble Souls were themselves Mistaken in many things, is it not the most unpardonable peice of Presumption for meaner Spirits, for Men of more contracted Capacities, to imagine that they cannot err? can any one see the Weakness of that Reason, which appear'd so sublime in these great Men, and not be distrustful of his own?

2. There is nothing that will give us a better Idea of the Weakness of the Spirit of Man, than the History of the *Ægyptians*. They were a People the Wisest, and the most Understanding, and the most Illuminated of any in

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in the World. All the Kingdoms of the Earth pay'd Homage to their Learning; and whoever had a deſire to be converſant in Letters, went into *Egypt* to be inſtructed. The *Greeks* deriv'd all their Knowledge from the Conferences they had with this People. They were likewiſe endow'd with ſuch great and generous Soul, conceiv'd ſuch vaſt Deſigns, and entertain'd ſuch boundleſs Thoughts, that their Kings erected Edifices of the moſt ſtately Magnificence, ſuch as the World had never ſeen before: One of their Kings built a *Pyramid* near *Memphis*, on which he had continually at work three hundred thouſand Men for twenty Years together. And yet notwithſtanding all the Advantages they had of a ſuperlative Degree of natural Light, notwithſtanding their Greatneſs of Soul, to what extravagancies of Superſtition did they ſuffer themſelves to be carried, in matters of Religion; debaſing themſelves to a groſs Worſhip of the moſt ridiculous Deities that can be imagin'd! ſo true is it, that Reaſon alone is not to be our Guide in the Grand Concerns of God and Religion. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. 36. c. 12.

3. The Purity and Delicacy of our Faith is ſo tranſcendent, that I will not intermix its own Lights with thoſe of Reaſon. *Origen* became an Heretick, by being too confident in maintaining the Doctrine of *JESUS CHRIST*, by the Philoſophy of *Plato*: *Tertullian* laps'd into the Errors of the *Montaniſts*, by being too much carried away with the Morals of the *Stoicks*, which inſpir'd him with that Spirit of Severity, by which he fell. This brought the Philoſophy of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* under ſo much Suſpicion amongſt the Primitive Chriſtians, by reaſon of the Diſorders it caus'd in thoſe that were too much affected with it.

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There is requir'd in a Chriſtian, Humility and Submiſſion, whereas Philoſophy inſpires us with Pride and Preſumption. Our Religion cou'd not be Supernatural, as it is, were it capable of being ſubject to the Guidance and Conduct of Natural Reaſon.

4. If the Principles of Heathen Philoſophy, clear and enlightned as it was, appear'd too weak to maintain any Communication with the Principles of our Faith; if the Light of the one, was too faint to be in conjunction with the Light of the other: What Judgment ought we to make of thoſe Mean Spirits, thoſe Little Souls, that, intruding and interpoſing in all Controverſies, pretend to Reaſon upon every Thing, before they have ſo much as begun to know what True Reaſon is. There requir'd a long Tract of Time, a Series of many Ages, to Rectify, by many Proofs and repeated Trials, the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*, e'er it cou'd be render'd indirectly ſerviceable to our Faith; and yet a Libertine, juſt ſprung up, and one that had ſeen nothing of the World, ſhall have the Impudence to pretend, to bring within the Compaſs of that Poor Share of Senſe he enjoys, the moſt Incomprehenſible Myſteries of our Religion.

Omnes veteres nihil cognoſci, nihil percipi, nihil ſciri poſſe dixerunt; anguſtos ſenſus, imbecillos animos, brevia curricula vitæ, &c. Cicero, *Quæſt. Acad l.* 1.

5. All the Wiſeſt of the Antient Philoſophers, believ'd that they knew nothing. And in reality, the Uncertainty of our Senſes, which are ſo Treacherous; the Natural Infirmities that depreſs the Spirit of Man, and thoſe common Obſcurities that cloud his Underſtanding, the Weakneſs of the Faculties of his Soul, the Tumult and Hurry of his Paſſions, and the Invincible Prejudices of Education, Cuſtom and Opinion, have ſo effac'd all thoſe Footſteps, ſo erac'd all thoſe Marks and

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and Characters of Truth that remain'd in Man, that the moſt Common Secrets of Nature appear Inconceivable, even to the Wiſeſt and moſt Knowing. The Spider's Web, confounds us; the Art of a Silk-Worm, or Bee, ſurpaſſes our Apprehenſion; a Fly or an Ant, are Myſteries we cannot dive into. In ſhort, Man knows nothing perfectly of the moſt Minute Things that may be diſcover'd in Nature: And yet this Ignorant, Contemptible Creature ſhall preſume, with the greateſt Confidence, to ſet himſelf in Heaven, and there erecting for himſelf a Tribunal above the Throne of GOD himſelf, ſearch into the Secrets of the Divine Eſſence, and paſs Judgment upon what is difficult to comprehend, in the Nature of that Eternal Being.

Non decet humano judicio divina penetrari. Tertul.

And hardly do we gueſs aright at things that are upon the Earth, and with labour do we find the things that are before us; but the things that are in Heaven, who has ſearched out? Wiſd. of *Sol.* c. 9. v. 16.

6. We can find nothing that we can depend upon, as an undoubted Certainty, even in things that lie moſt expos'd to our View: We cannot determine preciſely, whether the Earth, on which we tread, moves under our Feet. After all, the Books that have been written upon this Subject, and after almoſt Two Thouſand Years Diſpute, 'tis a Queſtion ſtill to be decided; and yet we pretend to know what is moſt conceal'd from us, and to underſtand what is moſt Incomprehenſible. One Man cannot Judge of the Thoughts of another, without Miſtake; and yet he ſhall have the Vanity, to think that he is able to Judge of the Irreverſible Decrees of the Divine Will; and dive into the Secrets of the Almighty, without Deception. We ſuffer our ſelves to be ſurpriz'd, in all the Judgments we make of Things; our Fear, Deſire, Inclination and Intereſt, prevent, or draw us on; and our Senſes themſelves are ſo ſubject

Quod eſt ante pedes nemo videt, & cœli ſcrutamur plagas. Ex *Pacuvio.*

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to be deceiv'd, so liable to be impos'd upon, even in things most sensible, in things that are their True and Proper Objects, that certainly we cannot trust them in things that are not so, without being guilty of the greatest Extravagance.

7. Of all Natural Truths, there is none so deeply engraven upon the Heart of Man, none imprinted upon his Soul in such Indelible Characters, as that of the Being of a GOD. Whatever presents itself to our Sight, carries its own Arguments along with it, and easily engages our Assent to it: And there is nothing in all Mortality, about which we meet with so general an Agreement of Opinions, as concerning the Existence of a Deity; all Times, all Nations, and all Schools have concurr'd in a firm Belief of this Sacred Truth. *Plato* and *Aristotle*, the most Profound of all the Philosophers, discover'd this Truth, amidst even the thickest Darkness of Paganism; and both have given such clear and infallible Demonstrations of it, as have been received by all Posterity with universal Approbation: *Plato* has prov'd the Existence of a Sovereign Being, from the *Idea* of the Maker of this World, which is a Work of an Intelligent Being; as one may prove the Existence of an Architect, from the Palace he has built. And *Aristotle* proves a God, from the Necessity of a First Mover. This *Avicenna* look'd upon, as the most convincing Demonstration of any in *Aristotle*; which that Philosopher begins, as *Avicenna* pretends, at the end of the eighth Book of his *Physicks*, and concludes at the end of the twelfth Book of his *Metaphysicks*. The greatest *Genius's* of Antiquity, *Pythagoras*, *Hippocrates*, *Socrates*, *Theophrastus* and *Galen*, who had

had ſtudied Nature with the utmoſt Application, cou'd not comprehend the Order and Oeconomy of Things, without a God. In ſhort, the Intimate Connexion of the moſt Solid Reaſons, ſuſtaining and ſupporting one another by a mutual Dependance on each other; the Purity of the Chriſtian Morality, the Sublimity of our Myſteries, the Holineſs of our Ceremonies, the Sacred Scriptures, the Accompliſhment of all the Prophecies in the Old Teſtament, the Blood of ſo many Martyrs, and the Conſent of all the Men of Learning that ever flouriſh'd in the World, confirm this Truth; a Truth not in the leaſt conteſted, unleſs by thoſe that are immers'd in Senſuality, and over-ſtock'd with Impudence and Ignorance.

8. This Truth appears ſtill more evident, from the Extravagant Abſurdity of the contrary Opinion. There is nothing in Nature ſo Monſtrous as Atheiſm; 'tis an Irregularity of the Mind, caus'd by Exceſs of Debauchery: No Prudent, Sober, Wiſe Man, ever in the leaſt doubted of Religion. It muſt be ſome Mean, Low-Spirited Fellow, puft up with the Succeſs of ſome Sonnet or Love-Song, which has met with Applauſe in the World, that can be ſo Sottiſh as to imagine, that 'tis Genteel, and more according to the Mode, to Doubt of all Religion, than to Believe any. Some Debauchee, that has never had his Head free from the Fumes of his Liquor, nor his Underſtanding unclouded and ſerene, ſo as to judge wholeſomely of any thing. Some Courtier, that never ſearch'd to the Bottom of Things, and knows nothing of Learning, but what he has met with in a few Chapters of *Montaigne*, or in a few broken Periods of *Charon*. It muſt

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be some False Pretender to Wisdom, that has neither Prudence nor Conduct, but in the Management of his own Trifling Affairs; whose Business and Grand Concern it is, to make an Outward Show, a Specious Appearance in the World, and whose whole Life is a meer Comedy. Some Woman transported with her own Merit and Beauty, and devoted to Pleasure, who has no Soul, but what is inspir'd into her by Lewdness and Debauchery. In short, all the Corruption of Manners, all the Weakness of Reason, all the Disorders and Irregularities of the Mind of Man, have ever combin'd to oppose what Faith teaches us concerning GOD, and his Existence; whilst Probity, Good Sense, Equity, and Solidity of Judgment, submit to this Belief. And is it likely, that those, whose Understandings are debauch'd, and Minds corrupted, shou'd know more, and be better instructed in Matters of Religion, than those whose Manners are pure and unblameable?

Est in ipsis rebus obscuritas, & in judiciis nostris infirmitas. Cicero, *Quæst. Acad. l. 4.*

9. Man is of himself but Weakness and Ignorance; and the Debauchee is weaker, and more ignorant than other Men; because more a Slave to his Passions, and less intent and fix'd upon any thing. Religion is in it's own Nature, and according to its Character, somewhat intricate and obscure. These are Three Reasons of sufficient force to suppress the Rashness of the Judgments of the Impious, or at least to suspend their Precipitation and Levity.

10. 'Tis true, 'tis the greatest Insolence in the Spirit of Man, rather to deny what he cannot comprehend, than to acknowledge with Submission and Modesty what he is utterly ignorant of. But what wou'd become of all

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all natural Truths, which are to us unconceivable, if what is incomprehenſible is not true? And certainly this Incredulity is rather the Effect of the Vanity of Man, than of his Weakneſs and Ignorance; and this Vanity works ſo ſtrongly upon the Senſes, that the Libertine thinks he performs a meritorious Act, in condemning what all the World beſides approves of; and having once got that Notion in his Head, that 'tis a Shame to give his Aſſent to any thing before 'tis well prov'd to him, he is eaſily perſuaded, that 'tis a piece of Wit and Gallantry, rudely to deny what all Mankind acknowledges as an undoubted Truth.

11. Man, though ſo free and independent, yet always finds at the Bottom of his Heart ſuch a natural Aptitude, and ſo ſtrong an Inclination to acknowledge a Sovereign Being above himſelf, and to depend thereon; that he chuſes rather to frame to himſelf ridiculous and impertinent Gods, wanting Light to direct him to the true one, than to live without ſuch a dependance. He debaſes himſelf to an Adoration even of the very brute Beaſts, o'er which he is, by right of Creation, Lord and Maſter, and by this Homage thus paid to theſe brute Idols, he acknowledges ſomething that is a Conferrer of Good, a Shadow at leaſt of the Divinity. This ſo general a Conſent of all the People in the Belief of a God, that none were ever found deſtitute of it, is an Inſtinct of Nature, and cannot be falſe, by reaſon of its Univerſality. What a Madneſs then is it to hearken to the extravagant Opinion of two or three Libertines at moſt, that in every Age have denied the Divinity, that they might indulge themſelves in their Debaucheries with leſs diſturbance.

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12. Is it to be imagin'd, that an Opinion so universal and so strongly imprinted upon Nature, can be an Illusion? Are those Terrors which torment the Consciences of wicked Men; those trembling and dismal Fears that attend all Crimes, that holy Dread and Horror which we feel when we approach any Place where there is but the least footsteps of Sanctity; those tender Comforts good Souls enjoy in the Practice of Virtue; are all these vain Images? the pure Effects of nothing but Fancy and Imagination? The Pleasure that results from a performance of our Duties, is it a false Pleasure? and the Joy of a good Conscience, is it a false Joy?

13. What can the Libertine urge, in opposition to the general Consent of all Time and all People, to balance this Belief? What sufficient Reason can he have to the contrary? He, I say, all whose Reason to support and defend his Impieties, is only a Doubt and Scruple rais'd in the midst of a Debauch; and all whose Disputes are at best but a confus'd medly of Idea's, not to be born with by any Men of Sense. For when Men will be so perverse and obstinate, as not to assent to what all the World besides believe, they are sometimes brought to take up with the most incredible things in Nature; because the Mind of Man can no longer retain a Sense of any thing when it once becomes insensible of this general Impression, which the Belief of a God has made upon Nature; nor can this Impression, as I have already observ'd, be false, because 'tis stampt upon all Mankind.

14. The greatest Honour Men can render to God, is to prostrate himself at the Feet of his Authority, believing whatever he has said because

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cause he has said it; and all the Glory we can give him, is an entire Submission to his most Holy Will; and this is a Sign and Token, and a Character of the greatest Respect and Reverence paid by Man to God. Thus did *Pythagoras* his Scholars honour their Master, receiving his Answers as plenary Determinations of the Question in Dispute; and never doubting more, after he had once spoke. And were we but as good Christians, as *Pythagoras* his Scholars were *Pythagoreans*, who not only assented, with an entire Submission, to whatever their Master had laid down, but committed themselves to the Flames with him, we shou'd be far better Men than we are: And surely *Christ Jesus* has deserv'd infinitely more of us, than ever *Pythagoras* did of his Scholars.

15. When this Barrier of Faith is once broken down, the Spirit of Man wandreth up and down, and knows no Bounds. 'Tis Faith alone that can determine and fix the natural Inquietude of his Curiosity. On what Principle can he form his Manners, when this is once destroy'd? All the Deductions he can make from Experience, Custom, Education, and Natural Science, will prove useless to him. His Knowledge will serve only to perplex and confound him; and though he desir'd nothing more than to have his share of Reason; yet unless that Reason submitted it self to Faith, its Dictates wou'd be less obey'd than those of Sensuality and Passion.

16. Philosophers, especially Naturalists, Chymists, Geometricians, and Physicians, by accustoming their Minds to the Knowledge of things that are the Objects of the Senses, have render'd themselves very incapable of submit-

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ting to the Faith. We corrupt our selves through vain Philosophy, by reasoning too much, and raising Disputes upon every thing.

17. We ought to know how to distinguish the Knowledge of things by their Principles; that is, to know Sensible things by Sense, Intellectual by Reason, Supernatural and Divine things by Faith. These Rules cannot be displac'd without great Confusion, and that Confusion is the Source and Original of Libertinism. We must, forsooth, apply the Rule of Sense to things of Reason, and the Rule of Reason to things of Faith. *Plato* never confounds these Rules, as appears from his *Timæus*, where he says, *That we ought not to engage in Disputes about Matters that relate to God, but to yield our unfeigned Assent to them.* We can never be deceiv'd if we make but a right use of these Principles, which we must necessarily do, if we would judge aright of things, and speak the Truth.

18. That Calmness of the Passions, that Tranquillity of Irregular Desires, and that undisturb'd Peace and Quiet of the Wise Man, which the Heathens have vainly sought after, is no where to be found but in the Christian Morality. That Uprightness and Integrity, which it teaches, carries along with it something that is so real and solid, that if it be as true, that Justice is better than Injustice, Faithfulness than Perfidiousness, Good Manners than Ill, as it is that one and one make two; then is the Christian Religion likewise, which makes a greater Profession of all these Virtues, and condemns, with severer Penalties, all these Vices, than any other Religion, the most so-

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lid, the moſt perfect, and the trueſt of all the Religions that ever were in the World.

19. Our Religion falls in better with the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle* than any other whatever, becauſe it is the moſt reaſonable; from whence it appears that our Belief is true Wiſdom, ſince it is not only entirely conformable to Reaſon, but it is likewiſe accommodated to the moſt excellent of all Human Wiſdom, the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*.

20. *Plato* drew a Scheme of Government the moſt perfect in *Idea*, and the moſt accompliſh'd that ever was; but this Plan, this Model of his, was never follow'd by any, nor cou'd the *Idea* of his admirable Policy ever be put in Practice. Whereas the Diſciples of *Jeſus Chriſt*, that were Men without Learning, without Power, and without Authority, have overturn'd the *Athenian* Government, and the *Roman* Empire, and all the whole World have believ'd their Doctrine. They eſtabliſh'd a new Religion, for which ſo many Martyrs loſt their Blood, and which has been embrac'd by all Mankind, though at firſt it appear'd ſo oppoſite to Senſe and Worldly Policy.

21. In the Profeſſions we make, or ought to make of Philoſophy, there are two Extremes to be avoided, the one of ſiding with one particular Party, the other of being indifferently of all Parties; and both are equally blameable. 'Tis inconvenient to devote our ſelves entirely up to one Philoſophy, and to follow one Opinion, be it either through Chance, or becauſe the Circumſtances of Life lay a ſtrong Engagement upon us, or upon the Account of the Habit we wear, or the Cabal we are of; becauſe this is to give our ſelves up to Reaſon, not for its own ſake, but

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for the Colour or Figure under which it appears. We expose our selves, by such Conduct, to those Railleries we meet with in *Cicero* against the Philosophers of his Time; *who*, says he, *were carried away as the Storm drove them, as in a Tempest Men lay hold on that Rock to which the Waves hurry them.* But there is Danger too in not following some Opinion; because we are liable to be either too incredulous and sceptical, or too delicate and nice; and to fix on nothing, dispose us to doubt of every thing. 'Tis for this very Reason, that the *Pyrrhonists* and the Scepticks are look'd upon as the most extravagant of all Philosophers, who, out of a meer Vanity, make their boast of believing nothing; and, being of a mean base Spirit, love rather to wander and rove from Opinion to Opinion, than fix upon any thing that is real and solid.

Adquemcunque disciplinam velut tempestate delati, ad eam tenquam ad saxum adhæresunt. Cic. Quæst. Acad. 4.

22. That Philosophy which improves not a Man's Reason, is a false Philosophy; and that Reason which makes not a Man tractable and submissive, is a false Reason. The Faith of him that reasons least, and that disputes but seldom, is the most pure and the truest; and a simple harmless Country-Fellow that is submissive, and of a teachable Temper, well prepar'd to receive the Precepts of Religion, is preferable to *Plato* or *Aristotle* in the Sight of God himself; as we may see from that Attestation so displeasing to great Spirits, from that humble Confession, which the Blessed *Jesus* once made to his Father with so great a Sense of Piety and Joy, rendring him Thanks for that he had done. *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, because thou hast hid these things from the Wise and Prudent, and hast revealed them unto Babes. Even so, Father, for it seem'd good in thy Sight.*

Matth. C. 11. v. 25, 26.

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23. There is no Man that has any Degree of Wiſdom and Prudence, that can be ſo harden'd as to withſtand all theſe Prejudices, to ſhut his Eyes upon ſuch lovely Proſpects, and to run headlong againſt ſuch a Multitude of Truths, upon no other Foundation than the Extravagancy of his own capricious Humour, and the Uncertainty of his own ſhallow Reaſon; when his Faith is at ſtake, and 'tis to be decided what he ought, and what he ought not to believe. But if a Man be already ſunk into ſuch a deſperate State and Condition, as to be blind amidſt ſo many Lights, and deaf to ſo many Voices, which from every ſide preſent him with a God and a Religion, which from every Quarter proclaim the Author of Nature, and the Worſhip that is due to him, from whence can this Stupidity ariſe but from his Paſſions, which darken his Mind and harden his Heart? Theſe are the common Springs of theſe ill-founded Jealouſies, and of all theſe Irreſolutions, which a vitiated Conſcience forms againſt Religion. The firſt Step to Doubt and Scepticiſm, is taken from the Intereſt Men have in purſuing the natural Bent of their Inclinations. The Morals of a Religion, that condemns Pleaſure, will not go down with them; they had rather have never heard of ſuch a Syſtem of Morality, than offer the leaſt Violence to their Darling Paſſions. Deplorable Conduct this! for a Man to oppoſe a Belief, which cannot be eſtabliſh'd by any other Methods than by a War againſt himſelf, and an entire Defeat of his perverſe Inclinations.

24. But 'tis the Misfortune of deluded Man to make uſe of the Force of his Reaſon to encounter with his Duty, and to ſupport and main-

maintain his Doubts and Scruples; for 'tis these that give Authority to his irregular Desires, and Entertainment to his Passions. The Irregularity of the Heart is the Natural Source and Spring of the Irregularity of the Mind. An innocent Heart, supported by the most inimitable Purity of Manners, and by the most perfect Integrity and Sincerity of Life, pursues its Duty without ever losing sight of it; and true Probity never swerves into perverted Principles. 'Tis the Infection of a Soul tainted with Vice that spreads it self over the Mind, and breaths into it these fatal Irresolutions, which hurry him on to the Brink of Destruction by subverting his Principles, and misguiding his Reason. This is the prime Source of Irreligion, the Rise of which appears to the Libertine so full of Shame and Dishonour, that, notwithstanding he is so entirely devoted to his Pleasures, it proves by no means agreeable to him. In order therefore to lay a Foundation for Tranquillity, which is extremely necessary towards the making Life sweet, he thinks of nothing less than of confirming his Doubts, which he will have pass for well-rais'd Scruples, under a pretence that the Difficulties he meets with, in assenting to the Matters of Religion, proceed from no other Spring than his own Understanding, from no other Fountain than his own Reason, the Light of which he prefers to all others. This Malady of Incredulity grows upon Men in proportion, as they strengthen themselves in these Opinions. 'Tis not to the Disorders of the Heart that they ascribe these Disorders of the Mind; they are become so insensible as not to perceive from what Sources this Irregularity springs. The Heart it self is so over-

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overwhelm'd with Darkness, arising from the Passions, that it knows not its own proper Course, being in all its Movements wholly actuated by secret and insensible Springs, which hurry it on to the pursuit of Objects without the least Reflection, and almost without Knowledge. These are the Paths which commonly lead to Impiety, which commonly proceeds from a Corruption of the Heart; and 'tis a Distemper without a Remedy, at least Man cannot in any reasonable time bring himself to the Study of himself, by sober Reviews and serious Reflections upon the Conduct of his Life. This is a Task that admits of so much Difficulty, that it is almost impossible not to err in the Undertaking, because the Heart so confounds all its Motions with those of the Mind, that it knows not it self what part it acts, and so is hurried on with a full Career into Libertinism and Licentiousness, without perceiving it self to have any share in this fatal Proceeding.

25. The sole Remedy for this Disorder is Philosophy well digested; the true design of which is to rectifie the Reason. This is its Province, and this its Employment. It's final Aim is properly to inspire Man with true Wisdom, which is to be met with only in the true Religion. For this alone is the way to the Attainment of that Felicity, and of that Repose, which can never cease to be, and which is the ultimate End of all human Actions. All other Wisdom is false, because it leads to nothing of Substance and Duration. Thus these Modern Schemes of Philosophy, which sow in the Mind the Seeds of Scepticism, and Incredulity, concerning the Immortality of the Soul, by the Destruction of substantial Forms; which

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which give new Idea's, and infuse different Notions from what have been receiv'd from the first Impressions of Education, when regulated by the Principles of Faith: And which lastly form new Systems of Morality and Religion, are of fatal Consequence to a State, where Vertue and Reason shou'd bear the sway. Let us therefore adhere to that Philosophy, which is already establish'd upon the Foundation of Faith, and cultivate and improve it only as will serve to authorize and confirm our Religion.

FINIS.

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